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VOL. 39	JULY-AUGUST 1955	No. 6
YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50	SINGLE COPIES, 70 CENTS	

Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
UNIVERSITY PARK, LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50

SINGLE COPIES, 70¢

Entered as second-class matter March 31, 1936, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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PUBLISHED BY

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS
UNIVERSITY PARK
LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

July-August 1955

HOMOGAMY IN INTERETHNIC MATE SELECTION

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I

In America, marriage choice is for the most part restricted to a range of potential mates determined on the basis of shared social characteristics. Marriage partners tend to be similar in race, age, faith, social class, politics, and ethnic origin.¹ Thus, for example, a middle-class Irish Catholic will usually choose a mate from among middle-class Irish Catholics. Insofar as these social characteristics are concerned, therefore, mate selection generally reflects the principle of homogamy.

Most research on this problem has been designed to reveal the degree to which each of the social characteristics exhibits homogamy in mate selection. Typically, studies of this sort have employed broad statistical descriptions of the relative homogamy exhibited in each of the several variables.² The success of such a program is indicated by the growing list of factors found to be systematically related to this pattern of mate selection. These variables have been found to define and delimit the "field of eligible mates"³ into which marriage is proscribed. Such findings indicate that nonhomogamous or heterogamous marriages are relatively uncommon.

The chief difficulty with such studies, however, is that they provide no means of understanding the heterogamous marriages which do occur. Some individuals violate the proscription and select a mate outside the

¹ See the summaries in such studies as A. B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 619-27, October 1950, and A. Strauss, "The Ideal and the Chosen Mate," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII: 204-08, November 1946.

² This approach is illustrated by such studies as R. J. R. Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Inter-marriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39: 331-39, January 1944, and A. B. Hollingshead, *loc. cit.*

³ See R. F. Winch and T. and V. Ktsanes, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection: An Analytic and Descriptive Study," *American Sociological Review*, 19: 244, June 1954.

field of eligibles. Barron has expressed regret over the lack of systematic information on such marriages.⁴ Although he has listed six factors which might be involved in some instances of heterogamous marriage, he has been unable to provide a systematic set of interrelated hypotheses aimed at understanding the problem.

It was with this situation in mind that the present research was undertaken. Intensive study was made of a small group of subjects living in Honolulu, Hawaii. This program of research had as its object the development of a set of interrelated hypotheses which would isolate some of the personal and situational factors leading to heterogamous marriage choice.

II

The ethnic complexion of Hawaii is particularly suited to a study of heterogamy in mating. It is a polyethnic community composed primarily of people of Chinese, Filipino, *Haole*,⁵ Hawaiian, Japanese, Portuguese, and Puerto Rican descent. Correlated with these ethnic differences are differences in race, religion, and social class, making interethnic marriage in Hawaii typical of heterogamous marriage in its broadest sense.

Although many members of the immigrant generation still cling to the attitudes and customs of their countries of origin, the community as a whole has shown a tendency to develop associations across ethnic lines. Unlike the rigid boundaries drawn between Negroes and whites in the continental United States, ethnic divisions in Hawaii tend to be flexible and unemotional. Lind has characterized the prevailing attitude as "... at least tolerant of interracial friendships and marriages."⁶

Accordingly, Hawaii offers many opportunities to observe interethnic dating and marriage in a situation in which much of the social stigma found in the continental United States is lacking. Although some ethnic restrictions do undoubtedly exist in the Islands, out-marriages have occurred for all groups over the years.⁷ Some members of the older generation still express anti-amalgamationist sentiments, but the general

⁴ M. L. Barron, "Research on Inter-marriage: A Survey of Accomplishments and Prospects," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII: 249-55, November 1951.

⁵ *Haole* is a Hawaiian word for "stranger." It has come by extension to refer specifically to Anglo-Saxon Caucasians.

⁶ A. W. Lind, "Backgrounds in Hawaii," *Monthly Summary of Race Relations*, p. 17, December 1947.

⁷ See R. Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), pp. 334-47, and C. K. Cheng, "Assimilation in Hawaii and the Bid for Statehood," *Social Forces*, 30: 16-29, October 1951.

atmosphere is relatively permissive in this respect. While intraethnic marriage is the most common form and receives the greatest social approval, interethnic marriage is not strongly disapproved.

The student body at the University of Hawaii provided an excellent opportunity to execute a study of this type, since the entire range of attitudes current in the community at large was reflected among the students. Voluntary associations, for example, ranged from ethnic fraternities and sororities which stressed endogamy to cosmopolitan clubs which actively promoted assimilation. While some individual students openly favored interethnic association, others refused even to talk with members of other ethnic groups.

The present analysis is based upon observations and interviews with twenty-two University of Hawaii students. Eight of the subjects were interethnically married and the remaining fourteen engaged exclusively in interethnic dating. Representatives of all the major ethnic groups of Hawaii were included in the group of respondents, which was composed of seventeen Hawaiian born, four mainland Americans, and one Japanese.

Each respondent was observed and subjected to a series of interviews and conversations over a period of about six months. In each case a personal history interview was obtained and several informal discussions of ethnic relations and intermarriage were conducted. The interviews were relatively unstructured, following only a general outline. It was believed that data gathered in this manner might be more instructive in revealing the motivations of the subjects than those provided by a more systematic but less flexible approach.

When interviews and observations were complete, the data were assembled for collation. They were carefully scrutinized and compared in an attempt to isolate those factors common to all cases. The present report represents an outline of the developmental and behavioral characteristics found to be present in all of the reports.

III

Individuals in the present sample all describe early feelings of rejection stemming from their social relationships within their own ethnic groups. Reportedly, such feelings frequently dated back to parent-child relationships and were, without exception, expressed in poor social adjustments in grade and high school. Since most social groups in school were built up around ethnic identity, these individuals tended to general-

ize their feelings of rejection to all members of their own ethnic groups. A young Caucasian man made the following typical observation about his adjustment in school:

I've never been close to my father, but my mother has always had a strong hold over me. I started public school but in first grade I had to stop—I got T.B. After that I read a lot and couldn't play sports. Then in fourth grade I was accused of being dishonest. After that I withdrew and played mostly with girls. In high school I was unpopular. I went out some but not much.

This background of felt rejection tended to generate a conflict in the persons experiencing it. Feelings of frustration were engendered, and these seemed to result in the development of hostility directed toward the agency of frustration. Thus, an individual's ethnic group became identified as an agent of frustration and was negatively evaluated on that basis. It became important to escape identity with the group. Often there was a conscious desire to get away from the group and from the things which symbolized it. Deviant behavior of some sort was the universal response. Delinquency was one avenue, as was active participation in marginal political or religious groups, but most often individuals simply withdrew and refused to participate in group pursuits or work toward group goals. Of course, such activities only tended to increase the rejection of the group and this in turn to reinforce the hostility of the deviants. Thus, a self-perpetuating cycle was built up in which deviation intensified rejection and rejection enhanced deviation. A modal response to this situation is described in the following excerpt from an interview with a Chinese-American girl:

*Pakes*⁸ I have an ambiguous feeling for. Some I know well and I like, but I took a class in Mandarin once and I didn't like the kids there. I'm not acceptable to them so I don't accept them.

(INVESTIGATOR: What was the trouble in your class in Mandarin?)

Oh it stems from way back. I was forced to go to the Oriental school which I hated. I didn't like the teachers or the kids. They were all younger than me—just silly kids—infantile. I was isolated. I never played any games with them—just read mostly. I decided then that I was negative to Chinese. I learned very little of the language. I have no tolerance for Pake culture.

Following this background of felt rejection and the development of hostility directed toward their own groups, the persons studied were in each case exposed to another ethnic group. For natives of Hawaii this was a relatively simple matter, since the community always provided a

⁸ The word *Pake* is Hawaiian slang for Chinese. It is mildly insulting, like *Dago* as used for Italians in continental United States.

number of different groups with which personal contact could be made. In the case of mainland Caucasian veterans in the sample, this exposure took place in the service, usually during duty in Japan. In any case, exposure was accomplished and interest was developed in a different ethnic group. This new group was inevitably one which was rejected and negatively sanctioned by their own group. They were able therefore to equate their own self-conceptions with their conceptions of the new group. Since both were rejectees of their own ethnic group, a certain community was felt. This led to a form of identification which was manifest at first in an interest in the culture and the way of life of the new group. Growing knowledge of this group provided a set of values which rationalized their own superiority. Adopting these new values as their own could provide a ready-made system for explaining their rejection as due to their superiority rather than their inadequacies. By this process these individuals were provided with an alternative way of life which rationalized their previous rejection and rewarded their deviation. Their interest therefore soon developed into a full-fledged internalization of the attitudes and values of the new group. One Caucasian informant described his growing interest in Oriental culture in the following manner:

I became interested in the Far East in about forty-five. I was in Trinidad in the Navy and had some Chinese and Indian friends. I was always fighting something . . . but when we began to discuss philosophy, Eastern philosophy appealed to me. I became interested in Buddhism and studied it. Then I decided to become a Buddhist monk. I learned to read and write Japanese and came to Hawaii on my way to Japan.

Such a statement typifies the pattern of growing identification with a new culture. This particular informant even went so far as to change his name to one with an Oriental sound. Others adopted the mannerisms and dress of the group with which they identified. It was not unusual to see individuals go to extremes to emulate the behavior of members of the new groups. Often their orientations were "more Japanese than the Japanese" or "more Caucasian than the Caucasians."

Internalization of the norms of the new group has been stressed as an important phase of the idealization of its culture. Members of the opposite sex particularly were idealized, and the desire to find a mate within the new group became important. Fantasies were constructed depicting the ideal mate as an archetype of the new culture. He or she was the possessor of all the positive features attributed to the culture itself and individual differences were ignored. Potential mates were classified categorically. They were positively stereotyped and seen initi-

ally at least as eminently desirable. On the other hand, potential mates from the individual's own people were categorically negatively stereotyped. They were considered undesirable regardless of their actual characteristics. Thus, relationships with both groups tended to be categorical and differences among individuals were unimportant. This attitude was typified in a spontaneous remark by a girl of Portuguese-Filipino ancestry during an interview:

I'll never marry anything but a Haoles. Haoles boys appeal to me. In high school the local boys I knew were all bums, but the Haoles were clean and ambitious. I wouldn't go out with a local boy if you paid me.

(INVESTIGATOR: Do you still believe that all local boys are bums?)

I formed the opinion in high school. Those were that type. I don't want anything to do with them. I prefer Haoles.

(INVESTIGATOR: How about some of the Japanese and Chinese boys around here? Aren't they known as clean cut and ambitious?)

I group Japanese and Chinese with local boys.

The process of stereotyping, both negative and positive, is obvious in this statement. Such a person did not see those around her as individuals but only as stereotypes.⁹

After conscious acceptance of interethnic mate selection as an ideal, systematic rationalizations were elaborated. Outsiders, notably visitors to Hawaii, tended to visualize this process as an indication of Hawaii's "racial harmony." In some instances such ideas were important in the thoughts of the participants; they were contributing to the elimination of ethnic conflict. More often, however, the rationalizations merely represented extensions of the complex of identification with the new group. Hours were spent extolling its virtues as compared with the subject's own groups. The women (or men) were more attractive, more attentive, altogether more desirable. For the most part, awareness of the social disadvantages of exogamy was present, but the import of this too was minimized by the general feeling that the personal rewards outweighed the drawbacks.

When conditions permitted dating, available choices often bore little actual resemblance to the ideal. Pressures exerted by families and peers tended to inhibit interethnic dating for most individuals, so these rebels had no choice but to pair off. A Caucasian man looking for an Oriental wife would generally find an Oriental girl who was seeking a Caucasian

⁹ See W. E. Vinacke, "Stereotyping Among National-Racial Groups in Hawaii: A Study in Ethnocentrism," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 30: 265-91, who indicates that stereotyping is not unusual in Hawaii. Individuals in the present sample did not differ from Hawaiians in general in amount of stereotyping, but rather in the content of the particular stereotypes to which they subscribed.

husband. While the Caucasian tried to appear to be Oriental, the Oriental was attempting to appear to be Caucasian. Very often each was more typical of the other group than were many of that group's members. This situation led a Japanese-American girl to make the following statement about her Caucasian fiance:

He really hates Haoles. He won't have anything to do with them. So did the boy I went with before. Yet I'm almost a Haole myself. I act like one. Why does he bother with me?

These deviant individuals were not acceptable to members of their own groups, but outside their groups their deviations were not noticed. Outsiders with whom they were able to establish contact tended to deal with them as stereotyped representatives of their own ethnic groups. Regardless of the extent of their deviations, these individuals were perceived by out-group members as typical Chinese or Japanese or Haoles. This usually resulted in the maintenance of appropriate social distance, but in the case of other rebels it led to their immediate and categorical acceptance.

Relationships between these rebels were often short and superficial. Built as they were upon the rather unreal conceptions each held of the other, they did not stand up under prolonged and intimate contact. Disillusionment was frequent, but it was with the individual in question, not with the new group. Consequently, partner after partner was sought, and each was initially categorized as a perfect stereotype of the new culture.

In cases in which disillusionment was delayed, marriage occurred. There followed a long and difficult process in which the participants gradually got to know each other as individuals rather than as stereotypes. Adjustment was sometimes difficult, but as time passed it tended to moderate the rebellion of both partners. A Caucasian man with a Japanese wife described their relationship in the following terms:

I had an antagonism toward my own culture and race. I was constantly fighting something. But with marriage I've lost a great deal of that. My wife is interested in Western culture and I'm interested in Eastern, and we sort of complement each other.

Each partner still tended to idealize the culture of the other, but the previously held extremes diminished and their two views were inclined to merge. Each retained enough of the attitudes and habits of the culture of the other to allow easy understanding. At the same time, each was allowed enough expression of his own culture to satisfy any rebellious desires which the other still held. In this way more stable permanent relationships were established.

IV

This paper has examined twenty-two individuals involved in interethnic dating and marriage in Hawaii. It has revealed a complex of circumstances characteristic in the development of these activities. A background of felt rejection within an individual's own ethnic group led to feelings of frustration. The individual became hostile toward the people and the ways of his own group and attempted to avoid participation in its activities. He was exposed to a new and rejected group with which he was able to identify. Interest was developed in the culture of the new group and soon it was internalized as an ideal. Selection of a mate within this new group was an important segment of the internalization and interethnic dating resulted. When mutual idealization could be maintained over a period of time, marriage was possible. Such marriages were difficult at first, but in time they tended to moderate the rebellion of both participants and permanent relationships ensued.

Analysis reveals a pattern of mate selection which systematically led to heterogamy. Ethnic exogamy was the aim. Partners were chosen on the basis of ethnic differences rather than similarities. As it worked out, however, the situation led to choices which were homogamous in other ways. While social heterogamy was sought, the resulting associations were homogamous in the sense that the pairs involved tended to share a common psychological make-up and social adjustment. In their attempts to escape from their groups, persons sought members of other groups as mates but succeeded in attracting only those who were rebels from those other groups. Both were rebels and both were rejectees. They had similar experiential backgrounds as rejectees, similar basic attitudes as rebels, and similar patterns of social adjustment through interethnic mate selection. As individuals they had much in common; and, since they were representatives of different ethnic groups, each was able to satisfy the rebellious needs of the other. Thus, these dating and marriage pairs exhibited a pattern of selection which was ethnically heterogamous but homogamous with reference to mode of social adjustment and psychological background.

V

To summarize, the present analysis has derived a set of interrelated descriptive generalizations which apply to all cases studied. These following generalizations might serve as productive hypotheses for a more systematic study of heterogamous mate selection: (1) Individuals who

intermarry feel that they have been rejected by their own groups. (2) They become hostile or rebellious toward their own groups and their symbols. (3) They are exposed to a new and rejected group. (4) They identify with this new group, internalize its norms, and idealize its way of life. (5) Dating and mate selection follow identification with this new group. (6) Only rebels from the new group can be attracted, so that the pairs will possess similar psychological backgrounds and patterns of social adjustment.

One auxiliary hypothesis might also be drawn from the writer's general impressions concerning the data: (7) The social distance between the individual's own group and the group in which he selects a mate will be a positive function of the amount of his hostility toward his own group.

LABOR UNDER REVIEW: 1954

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While 1954 was not a particularly spectacular year in the field of labor, events which may presage trends for the immediate future have occurred. No threatening demands of great import emanated from the unions, the Administration failed to wring from Congress any changes in the Taft-Hartley law, there was a minimum of intervention by the government in labor disputes, the stock market went higher as the Chinese Communists grew bolder, and not since 1945 had there been a year with fewer strikes.

At the close of the year 1954, the labor force was estimated to be about 62,242,000, with women workers numbering 19,353,000, or 31 per cent of the total. Unemployment reached over 3 million, although CIO leaders claimed it to be 5 million and were demanding that the President set up a vast public works program, a demand which was ignored. Most important events of the year may be listed as follows: (1) the drive for labor unity between the AFL and CIO, a process which began with the signing of "no-raiding" pacts, followed with unity conferences between the top leaders of both organizations; (2) the change in political complexion of the NLRB, its Republican membership now being three and a majority, a change which may further the "hands off" policy of the Administration and which has already resulted in a narrowing of the Board's jurisdiction by its own hands; (3) the spread of "Right-to-Work" laws, seventeen states now having passed such laws which tend to curtail sharply union security in those states; (4) the extension and improvement in the Social Security Act, embracing more than 10 million hitherto unaffected by it, the passage of the Employment Security Administration Financing Act of 1954, providing for supplementary funds to be given those states having severe unemployment problems, and the passage of Public Law 637, which strips a union or an employer of the rights and privileges of the Taft-Hartley Act if proof of Communist infiltration has been sustained; (5) a proposed intensified union drive for guaranteed annual wages; and (6) the recognition of *automation* in modern industry with its ever increasing technological devices not only for relieving human hands in the processes of manufacturing and controlling but also for computing mathematical operations which test almost everything that goes on in the factory, a kind of technological change

which either may mean the employment of a more intelligent labor force or may mean nothing more than deady routine except for the engineers and managers employed to keep the industrial robots in shape. *Automation* seems to be a new glorified term for some things that have been going on for a long time, notably the deification of the machine with a so-called brain.

The following rehearsal of labor events has as usual in this series been selected from press dispatches, newsweeklies, telecommunication materials, CIO and AFL pamphlets and reports, and the Department of Labor's *Monthly Labor Review*.

JANUARY

Albert C. Beeson of San Jose, California, named to succeed Paul L. Styles as member of the NLRB. Beeson, a Republican, and Industrial Relations Director of Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation, was the third appointment of President Eisenhower to the Board, giving it a majority of Republicans for the first time. Other appointments were Guy Farmer, now its chairman, and Philip Ray Rogers.

Eisenhower's suggested fifteen changes for the Taft-Hartley law now considered lost. CIO and AFL leaders not pleased by the Presidential message to Congress in regard to the proposals.

Labor Leader Clinton Jenks, international representative of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, becomes the second prominent labor man to be convicted of falsifying a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit.

Coal production sagging, with anthracite mines losing 26 per cent production. Miners' pensions and welfare benefits reduced as direct result.

FEBRUARY

AFL economist Boris Shishkin reports 2.6 million workers have left the labor market and that 749,000 more are looking for work. Bureau of Labor Statistics reports 2 million more unemployed in mid-January than in mid-December.

Texas Federal District Court in case of Santa Fe Railroad against 16 AFL Railroad unions upholds the "right not to join" principle by issuing a permanent injunction forbidding the enforcement of union shop contracts.

U.S. Supreme Court rules (7-2) that an employer violates the Taft-Hartley Act when he deprives union members of work because of their failure to pay union dues. The court also held that an employer violates the Act when he gives wage increases to union members and not to non-unionites.

MARCH

Cost of living reported as 14.8 per cent higher than in 1953, but pay rates for factory workers hit new high, averaging about \$1.80 per hour. Unemployment up to a new four-year high.

U.S. Senate confirms appointment of Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Corporate dividends reported as having soared to 690 million dollars in January.

United States and Mexico conclude a new agreement governing recruitment and protection of temporary Mexican farm labor for work in the United States.

J. Ernest Wilkins, Chicago lawyer, confirmed by Senate as Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of International Labor Affairs, succeeding Spencer Miller, Jr., resigned.

General Electric suspends 17 employees for invoking Fifth Amendment before a Congressional Committee hearing.

South Carolina becomes the sixteenth state to adopt a "Right to Work" law.

APRIL

Secretary of Labor issues an order under the Walsh-Healey Act (public contracts) increasing minimum wage rates from \$1.05 to \$1.20 an hour in woolen and worsted industries, effective May 7. Companies file action in Federal Court to enjoin the Secretary from putting this into effect.

NLRB policy changes: (1) unions have no right to make rebuttals against employer speeches on company time; (2) no longer seems to favor industrial unions as against craft unions; (3) management has right to use the lockout as a weapon against some strike techniques. Labor not happy over the new NLRB members.

CIO Steelworkers' David J. McDonald visits President Eisenhower and tells him that 40 per cent of union members are either out of work or on part time, urging increased unemployment benefits and social security. Business rated as generally good despite an over-all decline. UAW Local 12 at Willys plant votes to take a 5 per cent pay cut.

U.S. Supreme Court decides that the NLRB cannot challenge veracity of non-Communist oaths signed with it, and that it cannot hold up the certification of a union because a union officer is under indictment for filing a false non-Communist affidavit.

Arthur Larson, one-time Dean of University of Pittsburgh Law School, confirmed by Senate as Under Secretary of Labor.

MAY

Senate defeats Administration's bill for changes in Taft-Hartley Act by a vote of 50-42. Secretary of Labor's increase for workers in textile industry halted by granting of an injunction.

CIO wants income tax exemption raised to \$800, base of Social Security broadened, Federal minimum wage raised to \$1.25 an hour; launching of 135,000 units of public housing and inauguration of vast public works program. Reuther states that 5 million are unemployed instead of Government-reported 3.5 million.

J. L. Lewis' Mine Workers, owners of National Bank of Washington, D.C. (third largest in the city), buying stock to get control of Hamilton National Bank (fourth largest). Combination would result in biggest hundred banks in nation and have deposits of over 220 million dollars.

Steelworkers (CIO) demand guaranteed annual wage, insuring 32 weeks' pay, company-paid life insurance policies up to \$5,000, retirement after 25 years with monthly retirement pay of \$175 a month including social security, plus a full union shop.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce reports that fringe benefits now being paid by 529 companies cost nearly 25 billion dollars a year.

JUNE

AFL and CIO nonraiding pact agreed to by 65 AFL unions and 29 CIO unions, affecting about 10 million workers. Not signing were CIO Steelworkers and AFL Teamsters.

U.S. Supreme Court upholds a Virginia State Court's award of damages to an employer from a union for attempted coercion of his employees to change to another union.

NLRB rules that a union is not liable for secondary boycott activity of a picket who was authorized only to participate in lawful picketing at the location of the primary dispute. Also rules that an employer must furnish a union with a list of employees' names and their individual pay rates for collective bargaining.

U.S. Steel and United Steelworkers (CIO) agree on a new contract providing 5¢-an-hour increase, pensions from \$100 to \$140 a month less social security after 30 years' service. Contract runs for 2 years but may be reopened at end of first year, insurance provisions at end of 2 years, and pensions at end of 3 years.

Textile Workers (CIO) and Botany Mills, Inc., dispute settled with 9½¢-an-hour pay cut for 1,500 workers, while Textile Workers and American Woolen Co. sign a 3-year contract with a 10½¢-an-hour wage cut; fringe benefits also cut. Alexander Smith Carpet Weaving

Company of Yonkers, New York, closes its plant and transfers some of its manufacturing to a nonunion plant in Greenville, South Carolina.

Lehigh Navigation Coal Co. shuts down its mines and throws 4,000 miners out of work. Miners offer to give 20 days' pay, or \$1,500,000, to reopen mine, but company refuses.

JULY

Louisiana becomes the seventeenth state to adopt "right-to-work" laws.

NLRB further restricts its jurisdiction—retail stores, utility companies, transit systems, and radio and television stations now supposed to deal with proper state agencies.

Twelve hundred American Airlines pilots (AFL) go on strike to protect 8-hour rule. (First pilots get about \$19,000 a year.) Civil Aeronautics Board had given company permission to boost maximum flight time for air crews from 8 to 10 hours. Strike lasts 3 weeks and ends with Federal Mediation Service taking the case. Company sues union for \$1,250,000.

Federal District Court of D.C. holds that NLRB cannot void union compliance with Taft-Hartley Act non-Communist affidavit because its president had been convicted of falsifying his oath. NLRB rules that a union must be in compliance with the non-Communist affidavit at time it makes a claim to be a majority representative for workers.

Chrysler and Dodge plants in Detroit suffer strike by 10,000 workers who charge speed-up. Executive Board of union (UAW) calls halt to strike, stating it to be unauthorized.

NLRB reverses itself by ruling that an employer may legally question employees about their union affiliation or activities if no reprisals or benefits are implied or if the questioning carries no form of threat.

AUGUST

Employment Security Administrative Financing Act of 1954 signed—provides for the annual excess of Federal unemployment payroll tax collections over administration expenses of unemployment insurance to be used to establish and maintain a 200-million-dollar fund for the states whose unemployment resources run low.

Eighty-day injunction procedure used by the Government to stop the strike at Oak Ridge atomic plant. Eleven days later, union votes to accept a 6¢-an-hour wage increase previously rejected. Atomic Energy Commission confers with AFL and CIO leaders on labor relations at atomic plants while Secretary of Labor appoints David L. Cole as head of an advisory commission to study the relationships and recommend improvements in procedures for settling further disputes.

NLRB holds that a union unlawfully refused to bargain by striking to compel modification of contract without giving Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service notice of dispute within 30 days after serving notice on employer under a reopening provision required by the Taft-Hartley Act.

President approves Public Law No. 637, which strips a Communist-infiltrated union or employer of rights and privileges under Taft-Hartley. Law gives criteria for identification of a Communist-infiltrated organization.

International Longshoremen's Association (Ind) certified as bargaining agent for dock workers in New York City.

Studebaker employees meet in South Bend to hear management proposal of a 14 per cent wage cut, claiming that it had lost nearly 9 million dollars in first half of year. Employees vote to accept cut in order to keep the company in business.

AFL American Federation of Hosiery Workers agree to liquidate their 3.5-million-dollar pension fund because of severe competition and general depression in the industry.

SEPTEMBER

Old Age and Survivors' Insurance coverage under Social Security Act extended to nearly 10 million persons with a \$6 monthly increase to OASI beneficiaries.

President Eisenhower issues executive order stating that work on Federal contracts must not reveal discrimination for race, creed, and the like. Effective 90 days after signing on September 3.

NLRB holds that both an employer and a union violate Taft-Hartley when a contract is executed requiring preference in hiring members of the contracting union which owned the plant, and that the closed shop is forbidden regardless of motive.

Three big strikes settled—Kennecott Copper, Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., and the Pacific Northwest lumber companies. Firestone was the last of the Big Four to sign with the CIO United Rubber Workers' Union. Square D's Detroit plant goes on strike with attendant violence—first time a Detroit company attempts to break strike by hiring anyone willing to work.

AFL holds its 73rd Annual Convention in Los Angeles and is addressed by President Eisenhower, who receives a surprise welcome despite the coolness of the AFL toward his Administration. This marked the third time that a President of the United States had appeared be-

fore the AFL—Wilson had appeared in 1914 and Hoover in 1930. Secretary of Labor Mitchell also appeared and received a lukewarm reception.

CIO's United Steelworkers' Union holds its annual meeting in Atlantic City, where its President McDonald states that he has no intention of joining with Lewis and Beck to form a new organization.

OCTOBER

Joint AFL and CIO unity committee unanimously agrees to create a united labor movement through merger.

NLRB in a policy-making decision rules that a corporation (Richfield Oil of California) must bargain on employee stock purchase plans when based on employment relationship and providing for employer contributions.

Secretary of Labor under Walsh-Healey Act gives Metal Business Furniture and Storage Equipment industry workers pay increase, \$1.10 an hour instead of 75¢.

Square D strike settled, with workers getting 4¢-an-hour increase, additional holiday benefits, and no-strike clause; 27 workers fired for violence, not to be reinstated until arbitrator rules on cases. In case of wildcat strike, company may sue union if it supports it; otherwise, employees may be fired.

General Motors net income soars to 585 million for first 9 months. Steel earnings still good but behind those of 1953. Ford assets reported as being 1.9 billion as against 1.8 billion for 1953. Aircraft industries far ahead of last year.

U.S. Supreme Court rules that an employer is in contempt of an NLRB order when he fails to recognize the agreement reached by his bargaining representative who the union believed had full right to make the agreement. Also held that a contracting union may not lawfully strike in support of contract changes until agreement expires, even though 60-day cooling-off period has elapsed and the contract provides the right to strike.

NOVEMBER

U.S. Supreme Court decides that reinstatement of unfair-labor-practice strikers depends on but two factors: (1) Was the employee's engaging in strike misconduct a warranting cause for discharge? and (2) Would his reinstatement affect the policies of the Taft-Hartley Act?

NLRB holds that an employer must furnish upon request a union's demand for statistical proof that he cannot give a wage increase because of competition with another firm.

Atomic Ridge dispute settled after 7-month crisis with pay increase of 6¢ an hour, retroactive to April 15 plus 4¢ an hour more, effective January 15, 1955.

NLRB's new policy of restriction on its own jurisdiction meets with disapproval of Democratic Board Member Abe Murdock, who charges the Republican members with abdicating their responsibilities by eliminating over 25 per cent of its past jurisdictional field.

New York's Federal Circuit Court Judge, John Marshall Harlan, appointed by President Eisenhower to the United States Supreme Court to fill the vacancy left by the death in October of Associate Judge Robert H. Jackson.

Profit Sharing Research Foundation announces that a survey of 300 company plans revealed 77 per cent as being very successful with only 10 per cent being failures. Lincoln Electric Company in 1953 (1,100 employees) paid profit dividends to workers equaling or bettering their average pay of \$5,000 a year. Private Corporate Pension funds now cover 11 million workers or 17 per cent of labor force. Over 8,000 profit-sharing plans exist in the United States.

DECEMBER

CIO holds its annual convention in Los Angeles. Walter Reuther again re-elected as President and is authorized to go ahead with negotiations to merge with the AFL. Eisenhower sends Secretary of Labor Mitchell to convention with his greetings. Mitchell advocates higher minimum-wage standards and repeal of "right-to-work" laws. Later, the White House stated that Mitchell was speaking for himself—all this drawing forth the displeasure of Reuther, who stated that the Eisenhower Administration should advocate changes in the Taft-Hartley Act which would make the "right-to-work" laws inoperative. If the merger takes place in 1955, this meeting would be the final meeting for the CIO as such and would mean that there would be extensive labor unity for the first time in 20 years.

Eisenhower creates a new Cabinet-level agency, the Council of Foreign Economic Policy, coordinating foreign aid with present-day economic policy to be its chief task. One-time Budget Director Joseph Dodge named to head the Council.

The keynote of the Eisenhower Administration for labor relations has been sounded as one which indicates that the White House believes governmental interference in labor relations should be held to the minimum. Though the year showed fewer strikes, some of these were longer and more intensive, the Square D plant in Detroit being on strike

for 108 days, while the Pittsburgh department stores and the Teamsters' Union fought for 42 weeks. The economy, with its growing unemployment in some sections of the country, did not offer any great opportunity for scoring notable labor gains, and, in general, it may be said that there was much less labor-management warfare.

Several industries have been hard hit during the year, particularly the textile and coal industries and at least two automobile plants—Studebaker, whose workers voted themselves a big wage cut in order to keep their jobs, and the Kaiser-Willys plant, where a wage incentive plan went into effect. Competition was keen in the automotive industry, where Ford was trying to outsell General Motors' Chevrolet. Several mining companies closed their mines, and Lewis' Welfare Fund was forced to reduce its benefits. Some escalator clauses were omitted from contracts with the introduction of fringe benefits. Industry-wide bargaining suffered a setback when the Full Fashioned Hosiery Manufacturers and AFL's American Federation of Hosiery Workers decided that its continuance was causing too much hardship among smaller concerns in the industry. Governmental interference in a strike was limited to the atomic energy strike at Oak Ridge and Paducah.

On the brighter side of the industrial picture, the American worker could look at himself as the recipient of the highest wage scale in the world, with an estimated 25 billion dollars being expended for fringe benefits, 19 billion invested in pension funds on his behalf, and huge sums being devoted to his recreational interests. On the dimmer side, the passage of the "right-to-work" laws or the "right not to join" acts passed by seventeen states and the tendency to allow the several states to frame their own labor laws on a more stringent basis than even Taft-Hartley, with the added narrowing of NLRB jurisdiction by its own hands, cause concern to labor organizations. Indeed, a prominent laborite has accused the Administration of installing the principle of "government by, for and of big business."

Wage increases, where granted, were much smaller than in 1953, with the Steelworkers' Union getting only a 5¢-an-hour raise and some workers, as noted, even voting to take wage cuts and foregoing or giving up other benefits. Next year may see the guaranteed annual wage issue bringing on a battle between the giants of management and labor. If there is any reality in all of this, it is that conflict is this reality. Without it, there would be no accommodation, no room for collective bargaining, no change for the better, no progress.

SOCIAL CHANGES IN GREECE

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The close of the Second World War found Greece almost completely prostrate. Very little effective government existed, the state treasury was without a drachma, all major ports had been wrecked, 95 per cent of the railroads had been demolished, inflation dangled its devilish promises and delivered its devastating blows to the people.

In 1947, however, with the passage of Public Law 75 by the Congress of the United States (commonly known as the Truman Doctrine), Greece was aided to defeat the Communist guerrillas, rehabilitate the war damage, and take those steps which would develop its economic and social resources. In addition to the influences brought to bear upon Greek life by American aid, there have been numerous factors at work in the national life of Greece, including in the recent years a strong and stable central government, German commercialism and investment, international awareness through various political and trade arrangements with the Western world, and a fresh appreciation by the Greeks themselves of democratic possibilities.

Since 1947, Greece has made notable strides toward economic and social fulfillment, although it still has far to go to satisfy both Greeks and others. A considerable part of the changes which have occurred within Greece has been deliberately aimed at strengthening the "material" base of the country. Relatively few programs of social amelioration have been introduced; social security, for example, is still apparently a long way off. Yet, as is well known, the difficulties of separating the so-called material from the social factors in social change, even for purposes of scientific analysis, are practically insurmountable. It seems true that the technological advances of the recent years in Greece have brought concomitant social changes, while the introduction of various social innovations has stimulated the growth of material features of Greek life.

Some review of what has happened from 1947 to 1955 in Greece, first from the standpoint of material advance, is required for an understanding of the total changes which have occurred. Several elements may be fruitfully considered as illustrative.

Agriculture. In 1947 and 1948 the principal problem in agriculture was to enable the people to eat. Significant food imports were required during these years. Plans and activities were developed, however, to

enable Greece to feed itself and even to export food (88.8 per cent of Greek exports before the Second World War were agricultural products). Close cooperation between 396 professional field personnel, financed by the American Mission for Aid to Greece, and the Greek government helped bring advanced techniques and knowledge to bear in the fields of agricultural education, range management, artificial insemination, animal disease control, food processing, and other agricultural pursuits. The development of land and water resources also played an important part in these efforts.

The production figures for 1953 indicate how far the advance on the food front has gone: wheat, 183 per cent of prewar; cotton, 214 per cent; rice, 2,000 per cent. For the first time the last two crops became exports. Additional confirmation of the agricultural growth is seen in the following comparative statement. In 1948-49 the imports primarily for human consumption amounted to 167 million dollars, while the exports of agricultural origin were only 83.7 million dollars. By 1953-54 the situation was reversed, with the imports for human consumption dropping to 40.2 million dollars and the agricultural exports reaching 111 million dollars.

From this evidence it may be inferred that many and significant changes have taken place in Greece not only within that part of its culture which pertains directly to agriculture but also in almost every phase of Greek life.

Electric Power. Another illustrative example of the material changes which have occurred in Greece since 1947 is provided by what has happened to electric power. Industrialization was never possible in Greece outside of the Athens-Piraeus area mainly and in Salonika to a much lesser extent simply because there was no electric power available. The concentration of inadequate electrical power in a few areas meant that the largest areas in Greece were without such power and devoid of the several technological advantages that may result from the presence of such power.

Private American companies have been engaged by the Greek government to change the situation. Part of the money employed for this purpose was obtained from German and Italian reparations. The largest amount came from American aid funds. In all, \$117,388,000 were spent by August 1954. By the expenditure of this sum, 175,000 kws. have been added to the existing electrical power. This achievement more than doubles the production of such power. Moreover, it has involved the creation of related transmission and distribution lines throughout

virtually the whole of Greece. For the first time in the history of the country electricity is available in all sections. Naturally, not every village presently possesses electricity, although great strides have been made to bring this power to the masses of the people. The impact of the introduction of this power into the industrial and domestic life of Greece is almost incalculable.

Transportation and Communications. Another significant illustration of the manner in which the Greek nation has rapidly changed in the postwar years is its transportation and communications growth. The effect of wars upon modern transportation and communications systems is well known, and probably Greece suffered decisively in this facet of its life. Port facilities, shipping, railroads, highways, motor transportation, and telecommunications have, since 1947, advanced significantly, although even now they are generally below the standards set by European countries. In 1947, for example, there were 707 pieces of serviceable railway units; now there are 6,231. The stations, yards, and railroad shop in Salonika have been almost completely rebuilt with modern equipment, and in these shops as many as 60 war-damaged railroad cars have been rebuilt each month.

There are now about 35,000 commercial trucks, buses, and taxicabs in Greece, a doubling of the prewar figure. Vehicles are now licensed and repair shops with tolerably efficient staffs have come into being. The pace set in recent years in the rehabilitation of roads and the creating of new ones is striking—3,600 kms. of new roads alone have been established; more than 300 new bridges have been built.

The Corinth Canal, completely blocked during the war, has been restored. Warehouses, quay walls, breakwaters, and machinery for cargo handling have been built in the main port of Piraeus. By 1952 seven other ports were also in operation again. At least 17 new airfields have been created in Greece, and the nationally sponsored airlines tie together much of the country with efficient services. The postal, telephone, and telegraph systems in Greece also have undergone marked growth. These communications services often have the most modern equipment in use.

The effect of the greatly strengthened transportation and communications arrangements in Greece has had considerable influence upon the social life of the people. Obviously, the people in all parts of the country have become, in effect, closer to each other. Information is more quickly dispersed. With electricity coming to the villages the prospect of the increased use of home radios presents the introduction of a new phase of rural life to many thousands.

The impact of these so-called material changes in Greek life upon the social life of the nation is worthy of more extended and accurate study than this survey article is able to portray. Contrariwise, the impact of social innovations upon the total culture of Greece also is worthy of serious examination. Despite the risk of seeming superficiality, it may be well to describe briefly some of the social changes which have taken place in Greece since 1947.

Labor Movement. Greece historically has never had the organizational arrangements for labor that other European countries have had. In fact, there has been little need historically for the existence and complex development of a labor movement, since Greece has been until recent times predominantly agricultural in its economic base. Because of its property system and the almost inevitable requirements of its topography, Greece's agriculture has been traditionally that of the small-scale operator and owner, lacking mechanical implements and being relatively isolated from marketing centers. Industry has been a rather new development of the Greek economy. Therefore, it has been only in recent years that labor has had a basis for organization on a significant scale.

Prior to the Second World War the Greek labor movement met opposition not only from employers but also from a dictatorial government which saw in labor organization a threat. The war and the aftermath of Communist warfare certainly did not encourage labor growth. But following the cessation of hostilities and the introduction of industrial activity, labor unions were formed and began a relatively rapid growth. The American Mission, running under various names until the present FOA, gave support to the organization of labor—at least until October 1953, when the Labor Division was discontinued.

The Labor Division took part in several influential activities in connection with labor unions. In the early years especially, it sought to negotiate labor-management conflicts, which were mainly concerned with wage and hour demands. The Division has been successful in introducing American notions of collective bargaining and mediation as tools of maintaining labor-management harmony. Apparently, this pattern has taken root and is an accepted part of the social scene.

In addition, the Labor Division helped in formulating modern labor legislation, for which there was a notable need, and in providing planning goals for Greek industry on which both labor and management could agree and in many instances make their peace. Vocational guidance programs, in-service training activities, and the framework of a social security system also were attempted with a degree of success. Har-

monizing the relations among the employers, the Ministry of Labor, and the General Confederation of Labor also was a distinct gain. In helping to establish labor statistics and chiefly a cost-of-living index, the Division aided Greek industry to achieve a common basis for discussion of problems and aspirations. The Ministry of Labor established, as a result, a Division of Labor Statistics.

Greece was also sorely in need of programs which aimed at increasing the pool of trained workmen available for the growing Greek industry. A number of Greek leaders were invited to the United States to study what had been done in apprentice training. Apprentices now are licensed in a regularized system similar to that in the United States.

Vocational institutions also were needed to implement the personnel needs of Greek industry. The American-Greek cooperation enabled twenty-two schools to be rebuilt and equipped. Special help was granted to the universities to strengthen technical education. Although there presently is a wide disparity of standards and procedures among the various educational institutions, there also is a move toward creating common standards. Over 16,000 students are currently enrolled in these institutions.

The patterns of the development of the labor movement obviously have an economic or "material" basis, and yet they suggest a social and cultural modification of high significance for social science students. The receptivity of the Greeks—of all classes and interests—to accept foreign ideas and to employ them as a means of social advance indicates the extent and intensity of the social changes that have occurred within the last five years or so and of the attitudes toward social change that obviously were extant. At present it is possible to claim that there is hardly a person in Greece who has not been influenced in one way or another by the social changes introduced into the labor sector of the national life of Greece.

Family Life. The Greek family system has also been undergoing significant social changes. The status of women has been improving since the Second World War. Previously women were "second-class citizens." Legally they were discriminated against. Socially they were unable to secure public positions in any number. Within the home they were dominated by their husbands. In part this history was a result of over four hundred years of Turkish domination. The Turks brought to Greece their own attitudes toward women, asserting that women were biologically as well as socially inferior. Although Greece has been freed from Turkish rule for about 125 years now, the marks of that prior period are to be seen on almost every hand. Its contribution to the present Greek family system is apparent.

The dowry is still a significant feature of Greek life. Whether in small villages or in cosmopolitan Athens, women must still present dowries. *Time* magazine (January 24, 1955, p. 28) told of the efforts of the fathers in seventeen villages of south-central Greece to have the dowry abolished nationally. In an open letter to Queen Frederika they said, "This system has become a nightmare to families with daughters." Local young men were asking as much as \$1,300 in British gold sovereigns (the national standard for payment of large amounts). Obviously, many of the fathers are deeply in debt. Marriages are not made in Greece for romantic reasons by and large, but because of affection plus advantageous financial arrangements. In numerous instances the financial requirements work disharmony with affectional interests.

A feminist movement is arising in Greece. It is not on the highly articulate, organizational scale that characterized that movement in American history. Greeks do not have flourishing voluntary movements of social reform. But, sporadically, voluntarily, and individualistically, there are arising men and women who persuasively argue the equal rights of men and women. The changing status of women is evidenced in the fact that a woman was recently elected to the Parliament. Insofar as Greek life is becoming increasingly Europeanized and Americanized (not always the same thing), there is reason to suppose that the status of women will constantly improve.

Even the patriarchal nature of the family is changing. Men are still dominant in Greek family life; yet the harsher, more assertive kind of male dominance within the family is being modified. The increase of co-education is probably a significant factor in this change. American movies and the ways of Americans in Greece also possibly contribute, as well as do many other elements. But the trend seemingly is toward equalization of family members—the companionship-type family with Greek styling.

The social changes within the Greek family system undoubtedly are influenced by general social factors. On the other hand, the new patterns within the family undoubtedly will influence the social conditions. No statistical information is available on the manner in which the Greek family system is able to adjust to the problem of family change, although social agencies have an awareness that the changes do produce accompanying problems. Yet one would guess that the over-all adjustment of the Greek family system shows the notable pliability of the system to changes within the society.

The social changes in the labor movement and the family system are merely suggested as indicative of other changes which are occurring in Greece in the "nonmaterial" sphere. The changes within the Greek

Orthodox Church, in the "ideologic" outlook of the nation's leaders—in favor of the increasing realization of democracy—in the schools, colleges, and universities through the introduction of more young people educated abroad, and in other areas of Greek life also are important even if they find no place in this article.

In the main, Greece is undergoing widespread and deep changes which form a network of interrelated factors, material and nonmaterial. There is no dependable sign, however, that would indicate what predictive value these changes have.

HYPOTHESES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF PUNISHMENT

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One important deficiency in current criminology is the failure to integrate and organize, according to some theoretical system, the research studies and general knowledge about the area variously called "penology," "corrections," or "crime control." Sociologists have much to offer in this respect, but even the sociologist-criminologists have typically given almost no sociological orientation even to their own writings in this area. Our objectives here are to specify the nature of this deficiency and to indicate some possible directions which sociological study in the control of crime might take.

A typical delimitation of the scope of criminology has been made by Sutherland, who indicates that criminology includes study of the processes of making laws, of breaking laws, and of reacting toward the breaking of laws.¹ It is the last of these which has been most neglected by sociologist-criminologists, in spite of the fact that the subject matter is intrinsically sociological. The lack of concern for sociological theory which would organize knowledge regarding variations in societal reactions to lawbreaking, as well as the need for such theory, can be illustrated by inspection of the standard textbooks in criminology and juvenile delinquency.

All our criminology and delinquency textbooks actually consist of two "Books," "Parts," or "Sections," although this division is not always specifically indicated. The first Book is generally devoted to the lawbreaking process, to sociological analysis of crime and criminality. First, the many variations in the incidence of crime and criminality are observed. Second, theories which have been developed in the attempt to account for or explain the variations in the incidence of criminality are reported and discussed. Generally, those theories which can account for only a few of the variations, such as the Lombrosian theory, are discarded as explanations of crime, and those sociological theories which account for the largest number of variations are regarded as most valid. In the first Book, then, variations in social phenomena are observed, and an attempt is made to account for these variations sociologically.

¹ Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (New York: Lippincott, 1947), p. 1.

In the second Book, however, such a theoretical and sociological orientation is not apparent. Ordinarily three things are done. First, variations in societal reactions to crime are described chronologically. That is, it is indicated that the reactions of societies to lawbreaking have varied tremendously from time to time. At one time the reaction is punitive, at another time nonpunitive; at one time punishments were frequent and severe, at another time infrequent and mild; at one time punishment was predominantly corporal, at another time it was a certain kind of imprisonment, etc. These variations in societal reactions to crime usually are not identified as such, however. Instead, they are reported in chapters designed to provide readers with historical "background material" for appreciation of current penal and rehabilitative methods and practices. Second, variations in the use of contemporary methods for implementing societal reactions to lawbreaking are described. It ordinarily is pointed out, for example, that certain states use capital punishment and others do not, that the reactions to the crimes of Negroes are different from the reactions to the crimes of whites, that some prisons use penal and correctional methods which are not used by other prisons, that some jurisdictions make extensive use of probation and parole while others do not, etc. Again, these variations are not always identified as such. Here, they ordinarily are reported only in a general attempt to indicate the differences between "good" and "bad," "just" and "unjust," or "efficient" and "inefficient" systems for dealing with lawbreakers. Third, vocational information is presented. Readers are advised as to the kind of education and training needed by a probation officer, the duties and responsibilities of a warden or juvenile court judge, the salaries of police and parole officers, etc.

As implied above, general policies for dealing with lawbreakers may be considered as "societal reactions to criminality," for they are the corporate responses of the group to violation of its legal norms. The societal reactions may be classified on a scale ranging from a "purely punitive" reaction to a "purely nonpunitive" reaction. Some societal reactions to crime, and hence some policies for control of crime, have been directed primarily by punitive considerations, others by nonpunitive treatment considerations, and a final category by a mixture of punitive and treatment considerations.

A mature sociology of punishment would correlate the variations in the punitive reaction to lawbreaking with variations in social organization and then would account for the correlations. Thus, the general theoretical problem is not unlike the general theoretical problem of

explaining variations in crime rates. The problem can be summarized by the question: Why does the punitive reaction to crime vary from time to time and from place to place? In dealing with this general question the assumption must be made that societal reactions to crime can be classed as punitive, nonpunitive, or partially punitive on a general level, and that techniques or methods of implementing the general reactions need not be considered. The concern is not with the types of punishment inflicted or with the frequency and severity of the punishments administered, but with the presence or absence of various general modes of responding to criminality in various societies. Preliminary attempts to answer the questions have included cultural, psychoanalytic, and sociological concepts, but the explanations have not been convincing. A few of the hypotheses will be described briefly.

One explanation, stated by Sutherland, may be termed a hypothesis of "cultural consistency." The general point is that societal reactions to crime show a tendency to be consistent with the other ways of behaving of a society.² For example, when punitive methods are used in the home, school, and church, the reactions to crime are punitive; and, when such methods are abandoned in the basic social institutions, the punitive reaction to crime is abandoned also.³

A second hypothesis, advanced by psychoanalysts, correlates variations in societal reactions to crime with variations in alternative systems for satisfying aggressive and libidinal instincts. This may be termed a "scapegoat" hypothesis, for the general point is that mankind possesses certain instincts which must be expressed, and that the criminal often serves as a scapegoat for their expression. Whether societal reactions will be punitive or nonpunitive depends upon the availability of alternative channels through which the libidinal and aggressive urges can be expressed. Thus, it has been held that in societies where the social prohibitions against sexual behavior are few and lax, the reaction to crime is nonpunitive, while in societies where sex and sexuality are declaimed against, the reaction to criminality is punitive.⁴ Similarly, it has been argued that war enemies are alternatives to criminals as scapegoats for

² Sutherland, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-49.

³ Criminologists who describe our contemporary correctional and penal methods as "barbarian" implicitly accept this hypothesis. Application of the epithet "barbarian" carries the implication that our correctional and penal methods are a carry-over from some earlier period and that they are "out of joint" with contemporary ways of behaving.

⁴ Charles Berg, "The Psychology of Punishment," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 20:295-313, October 1945.

expression of aggressive instincts,⁵ and this would imply that in warring societies the reactions to crime would be nonpunitive, while in peaceful societies they would be punitive.

Third, a few social scientists, largely European, have attempted to relate variations in societal reactions to crime to variations in certain aspects of social structures. One such hypothesis holds that the societal reaction to crime is very much affected, if not determined, by the general economic conditions of a society. Rusche, for example, advanced the thesis that when the labor market is glutted and labor therefore cheap, the societal reaction is punitive; but, when the labor supply is scarce and labor therefore at a premium, the reaction is nonpunitive or only partially punitive.⁶ Another hypothesis relates variations in the societal reactions to crime to the presence of the lower middle class. The general notion is that the punitive reaction to crime is present when there is a "small bourgeoisie" or "lower middle class," and that this reaction does not prevail in societies where that social class is of little significance.⁷ Still another social structure hypothesis attributes general variations in the punitive reaction to changes in the division of labor in society. The basic notion here is that when a society has mechanical solidarity, a solidarity based not upon division of labor but upon similarity of behavior and attitudes, the reaction to legal wrongs is punitive; but in societies where the solidarity is organic, a solidarity based upon specialization or division of labor, then the reaction is restitutive, or nonpunitive.⁸ A final hypothesis of this kind is stated in terms of the homogeneity and heterogeneity of societies and may be termed a hypothesis of "social disorganization." Here, the basic notion is that in homogeneous societies the reaction to crime is nonpunitive, but in heterogeneous societies the reaction is punitive.⁹ Various indexes of homogeneity and heterogeneity have been used. Sorokin, for example, refers to "ethico-juridical heterogeneity and antagonism" of social groups, and argues that when this heterogeneity is present, the reaction to criminality is

⁵ Paul Riewald, *Society and Its Criminals* (New York: International Universities Press, 1950), p. 235. See also F. Alexander and H. Staub, *The Criminal, the Judge and the Public* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), pp. 207-25.

⁶ George Rusche, "Arbeitsmarkt und Strafvollzug," *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, 2:63-78, May 1933; George Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer, *Punishment and Social Structure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

⁷ Svend Ranulf, *Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology: A Sociological Study* (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938), p. 198.

⁸ Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, translated by George Simpson (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1947), p. 81; "Deux lois d'évolution pénale," *L'Année Sociologique*, 14:65-95, 1900.

⁹ This formulation, obviously, is in contradiction to Durkheim's hypothesis.

punitive.¹⁰ Znaniecki considers the variations in the presence of "insiders" and "outsiders" in societies and makes the point that when a society is homogeneous, the reaction to the crimes of outsiders is punitive; but in heterogeneous societies the distinction between insiders and outsiders is not easily made, so the reaction to crime is sometimes punitive, sometimes nonpunitive, and sometimes a mixture of the two.¹¹

In addition to the general theoretical problem of accounting for the presence or absence of punitive reactions in societies, the sociology of punishment poses several specific or detailed subsidiary problems. These problems are closely allied with the general question stated above, and preliminary hypotheses for research concerning them can be derived from the general hypotheses which have been outlined. One such subsidiary problem is that of explaining the incidence in various societies of the values of the traditional "modalities" of punishment: severity, uniformity, celerity, and certainty. Punishments may be relatively severe, uniform, swift, or certain in some societies, while in others the reaction may be punitive but not so severe, uniform, etc. Even among societies or subsocieties where the general reaction to crime is almost exclusively punitive, variations in the modalities of punishment occur.

The frequency with which punishments are imposed, for example, may be used as an "index" of the extent to which societal reactions to criminality are punitive or nonpunitive. Variations in frequency of punishments can be viewed as variations in the number of acts which are punishable by law—which are crimes.¹² Also, however, variations in frequency of punishments can be viewed as variations in the classical modalities "certainty," "uniformity," and "celerity." The values of these modalities are summarized in the ratio of punishments imposed to the number of crimes committed—in the frequency with which punishable acts actually are punished. The problem of accounting for variations in frequency of punishments is, then, identical with the broader theoretical problem of explaining variations in general societal reactions to crime. The problem is merely stated in quantitative rather than qualitative terms. In a society organized in one way, punishments for crime are frequent; in societies organized in other ways, punishments are infrequent. The hypotheses outlined above could be interpreted, and have been so interpreted by their authors, as hypotheses regarding variations

¹⁰ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Company, 1937), II: 595. See also Gaston Richard, "Les Crises sociales et les conditions de la criminalité," *L'Année Sociologique*, 14:17, 1900.

¹¹ F. Znaniecki, *Social Actions* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936), p. 376.

¹² Cf. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

in the frequency of punishments among societies. Sutherland's hypothesis is that in societies where the organizational principle of the basic social institutions is punitive, punishments for crime are frequent; and, where the basic social institutions are nonpunitive in their organization, then punishments are less frequent. According to Berg, where there are many outlets for aggressive instincts, punishments for crime are infrequent; but, where there are few such outlets a large proportion of the crimes result in official punishment. Rusche's hypothesis is that when the labor market is glutted, punishments for crime are frequent; but, when labor is scarce, punishments are rare. The hypotheses of Ranulf, Durkheim, Sorokin, and Znaniecki can be similarly translated into quantitative terms.

Severity of the punishments imposed may also be used as an index of the general societal punitive reaction, although severity itself probably is culturally relative. That which is a severe punishment in a society whose general reaction to crime is essentially nonpunitive may be a mild punishment in a society whose general reaction is punitive. However, the severity of punishment for the same offense may vary widely from time to time in the same society, and the general hypotheses which have been described are based on the assumption that the severity of punishments can be objectively measured. Rusche, for example, states that when the labor market is glutted, punishments are severe as well as frequent; but, when labor is scarce, the few punishments imposed are mild.

A second subsidiary problem is to account for variations in the use of specific methods of implementing the punitive reaction, such as the death penalty, corporal punishment, imprisonment, and fines. A great deal is known about the history of imprisonment as a means of imposing punishments, for example, but little is known about the relationship between the rise of imprisonment and changing conceptions of freedom which accompanied the democratic revolutions. In connection with his cultural consistency hypothesis Sutherland points out that corporal punishment is common in cultures where physical suffering is regarded as the natural lot of mankind, and he also observes that the conceptions of "just" punishments—"just" referring to the amount of imprisonment or fine—arose as the price system for exchange of economic commodities developed. Berg considers the rise of imprisonment to have accompanied societal repression of libidinal urges: the societal "ego" repressed the aggressive urges (which had been expressed in corporal and capital

punishments) into its collective "unconscious," the prison. Rusche points to the growing appreciation of the value of labor in his analysis of the decline of capital and corporal punishments and the rise of imprisonment and fines.

A third subsidiary problem, closely related to the first, is that of explaining differences between the "official" or formal societal reactions to crime and the unofficial or informal reactions. In literate societies, the formal reactions may be found in the statutes and officially stated policies, the informal reactions in the actual methods of handling cases of criminality. Various informal systems for mitigating punishments in societies where punishments are frequent and severe have been observed. These vary from "right of clergy" and "securing sanctuary" to simple refusal to execute the punishments officially prescribed.¹³ Also, when the actual, informal, societal reaction to crime is not precisely reflected in the laws governing the administration of justice, the reactions to the crimes of persons of one status are likely to be different from the reactions to the crimes of persons of another status. Discriminations have been made and are being made because of the age, sex, wealth, education, political prestige, color, nationality, and other characteristics of offenders. Similarly, when the official reaction to crime is both punitive and non-punitive, observations can be made of the informal systems for resolving this formal conflict. As a matter of fact, administrative practices of contemporary agencies such as probation departments, police departments, and prisons can be understood only in terms of the conflict between punitive and nonpunitive aims and purposes in our society.¹⁴

With the development of an awareness of the need for research in the sociology of punishment, both the general problem and the subsidiary problems undoubtedly will be stated in more rigorous form. Such rigorous definition of research problems will, in turn, enable sociologists to reject or accept the current hypotheses and also to formulate and test new hypotheses. The current hypotheses all suffer from the fact that variations in societal reactions to crime have not been precisely identified or measured. Systematic organization and integration of information on societal reactions to lawbreaking is a prerequisite to the development of a theoretical explanation of variations in that phenomenon. Work on Ranulf's hypothesis, which will be tested by determining the extent to which probation is used in various United States jurisdictions, is now in progress.

¹³ See Jerome Hall, *Theft, Law and Society*. Second Edition (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952), pp. 110-18, 356-63.

¹⁴ Cf. Harvey Powelson and Reinhard Bendix, "Psychiatry in Prison," *Psychiatry*, 14:73-86, February 1951.

SOCIAL FACTORS RELATED TO ATTITUDE CHANGE IN STUDENTS*

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The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between a number of social factors—religion, residence, father's occupation, etc.—and attitude change.

At the University of Wisconsin 1,525 students were tested in a "before-after" design which yielded 940 matched questionnaires. The questionnaires were designed for students enrolled in courses in introductory anthropology, introductory sociology, and introductory social disorganization. These students had been given a series of attitude scales at the beginning and at the end of the semester. It was found that a significant change had occurred in one of these attitude scales, a change toward more humane treatment of the criminal.¹

In the light of these findings of attitude change, thirty-four social factors were selected for the purpose of seeing what relationship, if any, these exerted upon this obtained attitude change. For example, would students from small communities change attitudes more frequently than those from large cities? Would a student who came from a working-class background be more likely to change attitudes toward the criminal than the son or daughter of a lawyer, a doctor, etc.? These were the kinds of hypotheses it was hoped could be tested.

The social factors selected for study were as follows: (1) lecturer (four lecturers involved), (2) discussion leader (the large lecture sections broke up once a week into small discussion sections under the direction of twenty-seven graduate teaching assistants, (3) age of student, (4) sex, (5) marital status of student, (6) major or expected major, (7) college class (freshman, sophomore, etc.), (8) other courses previously taken in sociology or anthropology, (9) marital status of parents, (10) pleasant or unpleasant childhood, (11) born in Wisconsin, (12) spent most of life in Wisconsin, (13) size of home town, (14) size of community you would eventually like to settle in, (15) father's occupation, (16) father's income, (17) class position in community,

*The writer wishes to express gratitude to the Numerical Analysis Laboratory of the University of Wisconsin for making their facilities available for this study.

¹ For a more detailed discussion of these findings, see Joseph C. Lagey, "Relationship of Social Factors to Attitude Change" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, June 1954).

(18) expect class position higher than that of family, (19) have outside job, (20) belong to a fraternity or sorority, (21) size of high school class, (22) rank in above class, (23) campus residence (dorms, fraternity house, rooming house, own family, co-ops, trailer camps), (24) father's education, (25) religion, (26) frequency of church attendance, (27) find this course interesting, (28) recommend this course to your friends, (29) the professor was biased in his presentation, (30) which Madison paper do you read? (morning paper is Republican, evening one is Democrat), (31) would you say most of your professors are radical, liberal, conservative, or reactionary? (32) how would you rate your own political direction? (33) preceding compared to parents, (34) final grade obtained in course.

Results. Of the 34 factors 7 were significant at the 10 per cent level as determined by the chi-square test, namely, age, marital status of parents, born in Wisconsin, religion, for students in Introduction to Social Disorganization; have an outside job, for students in Introduction to Sociology; professor biased, your political direction, for students in Introductory Anthropology. Three factors were significant at the 5 per cent level, namely, most of life in Wisconsin, have an outside job, for students in Introduction to Social Disorganization; rank in high school class, for students in Introductory Sociology. One factor was significant at the .01 per cent level—church attendance, for students in Introductory Anthropology; two factors were significant at the .001 per cent level—religion and church attendance, for students in Introductory Sociology.

Conclusions. (1) Of the 34 social factors analyzed twelve were significant at the 10 per cent level or better. (2) Of these twelve only three were significant for two of the three introductory courses. No factor was found to be significant for all three courses in sociology and anthropology. (3) The one social factor showing the highest level of significance, and found in two of the three courses, was that of church attendance. (4) Utilizing a 10 per cent level of significance or better, the only area common to all three courses was that relevant to either church attendance or religious affiliation. Considering religious affiliation and frequency of church attendance as similar factors, it can be said then that a general social factor of religion is the only factor out of the thirty-four studied to show some relevance.

Discussion. The conclusions indicate that religion is the only social factor associated with an attitude change of greater humaneness and enlightenment in treatment of the criminal. The religious affiliations were arrayed in the order of most conservative of fundamentalist to

liberal. For example, Lutherans and Baptists showed far more change on the Thurstone Scale "Attitude Towards the Criminal" than did Congregationalists or Unitarians. Catholic and Jewish showed less change than Methodists but more than Presbyterians.

The greater the frequency of church attendance, the greater the amount of attitude change. Those who have quit attending church since coming to college showed the least amount of change.

By themselves these findings do not contain the explanation of why religion should be a factor in attitude change toward the criminal.

Of the possible speculations one is that there is a tendency discernible in the arraying of religious affiliations by class composition of these bodies, with the greater the proportion of "lower class," the greater the tendency for attitude change.²

From this point on, further explorations would be of a tenuous nature. Many kinds of explanations could be rationalized. In the end, the most fruitful inquiry would not be in the nature of further speculation but in extending this kind of study. What would now be most rewarding would be direct interviewing of the subjects involved. Only in this way could any realistic appraisal be obtained as to what the relationship is between the kinds of religiosity crudely measured by this study and an alteration in attitude direction. All groups began with a "negative" score, one of a general attitude that punishment is the efficacious method of rehabilitation of the criminal. All groups ended with a "positive" score, that education and treatment are the best means of rehabilitation.

² The array of religious affiliation as indicated by percentages in parentheses with abbreviations of classes as follows: upper class UC, middle class MC, and lower class LC. Baptists, UC (8), MC (24), LC (53); Methodist, UC (13), MC (35), LC (52); Jewish, UC (22), MC (32), LC (46); Episcopalian, UC (24), MC (34), LC (42); Presbyterian, UC (22), MC (40), LC (38); and Congregational, UC (24), MC (43), LC (33).

THE LOSS OF PARENTS AND PSYCHOSOMATIC ILLNESS*

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Investigators have noted the significance of acculturation and the role of the mother in psychosomatic illness, as well as the absence of parents in mental and emotional disturbances.¹ The present paper attempts to translate the loss of one parent at an early age and the loss of both parents and/or acculturation into processes and meanings as experienced by 54 individuals with psychosomatic ailments. The absence of a control group and the size of the sample limit the applicability of the interpretations. The foci of this report are upon questions for future research which were raised by the analysis of the 54 case histories.

The Sample. The 54 cases were taken from a total number of 68 consecutive cases referred by medical doctors to a psychiatric clinic during a four-month period. Fourteen of the total 68 did not wish to participate in the study or gave incomplete data. Clinical psychologists and psychiatrists classified the ailments involved as being psychosomatic rather than psychoneurotic. The sample of 54 included 34 males and 20 females. Data were obtained by means of a six-page questionnaire and an intensive eight-page interview schedule.

Thirty-seven respondents, or 68.5 per cent, had lost one or both parents by the age of fifteen through death (22), divorce (7), occupational demands (5),² and being "kicked out" of the home (3). Thirty respondents, or 55.5 per cent, had parents who were born and reared in a country other than the United States and/or were members of an ethnic minority group. Only six respondents, or 11.1 per cent, were not in one or both of the foregoing categories.

Meanings of the Loss of One Parent. The loss of one parent at an early age appeared to have the following meanings for the individuals (55.5 per cent) in the present study who had experienced such a loss:

*This research was financed by a Predoctorate Fellowship from the National Institute of Mental Health, National Institutes of Health, United States Public Health Service.

¹ For examples, see Jurgen Ruesch, *Duodenal Ulcer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948); Melitta Sperling, "The Role of the Mother in Psychosomatic Disorders in Children," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, XI: 377-85; and L. Madow and S. E. Hardy, "Incidence and Analysis of Broken Families in the Background of Neurosis," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XVII: 521-28.

² One parent absent at least six months a year.

1. The individual learned a role of submission-dependence in the interactions with the remaining parent. This role was learned in large part through the use of "love withdrawal" as a form of discipline and the tendency of the remaining parent to limit the respondent's contacts and interactions with other individuals by initiating a close relationship with the respondent that had formerly existed with the married companion.

Considerable attention has been given the significance of parent-child fixation in emotional disorders. The assumptions that the fixation is most often with the parent of the opposite sex and is sexually oriented have been questioned by several investigators.³ Using a rough ten-point scale to measure parent-child identification,⁴ it was found in this study that 61.1 per cent of the respondents had a "close identification" with their mother, 16.7 per cent had a "close identification" with their father, and the remainder were either equally close to both parents or not closely identified with either parent. A higher percentage of the females (65.5 per cent) than of the males (58.8 per cent) had a "close identification" with their mother, and a higher percentage of the males (20.6 per cent) than of the females (10.0 per cent) had a "close identification" with their father.

More significant perhaps is the fact that of the thirty-three respondents, or 61.1 per cent, who had a "close identification" with their mother, 78.8 per cent had lost their father through death, divorce, and occupational demands before the respondent was fifteen years of age. Of the nine respondents, or 16.7 per cent, who had a "close identification" with their father, six, or 66.6 per cent, had lost their mother through death before the respondent was fifteen years of age. It would appear in these cases that the attachment to one parent was less a function of sexual orientation (at least initially, although it could come to have this meaning) and more a function of the interpersonal relationships within a family structured by the absence of the other parent.

Both Green and Ruesch, *et al.*, have emphasized the significance of "discipline by the threat of love withdrawal" in the etiology of neuroses and psychosomatic ailments.⁵ In the present study, thirty-five respond-

³ Read Bain, "Needed Research in Parent-Child Fixation," *American Sociological Review*, X: 208-16; M. Komarovsky, "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, XV: 508-16; M. F. Nimkoff, "The Child's Preference for Father or Mother," *American Sociological Review*, VI: 517-24; and R. E. Winch, "Further Data and Observations on the Oedipus Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review*, XVI: 784-95.

⁴ Clark E. Vincent, "Sociological Factors in Psychosomatic Illness" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1952), Appendixes A and B.

⁵ Arnold W. Green, "The Middle-Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, XI: 31-41; and Jurgen Ruesch, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-07.

ents, or 64.8 per cent, were disciplined almost exclusively by threats of love withdrawal and verbal tongue lashings⁶; 16.7 per cent were punished primarily by physical punishment, and the remaining 18.5 per cent were disciplined by both methods or with very little punishment.

However, the present study suggests that discipline by means of "love withdrawal"—and its concomitant personality absorption—may be related to the fact that only one parent administers discipline. In the present study, out of the thirty-five disciplined almost exclusively by threats of love withdrawal, twenty-six, or 74.3 per cent, had lost one parent at an early age. Of nine respondents, or 16.7 per cent, who were punished primarily by whippings and physical punishment, seven, or 77.8 per cent, were living with both parents.⁷

2. If this role of submission-dependence was associated with a "positive" attachment to the remaining parent, it meant leaving home and marrying at a later age, and involved considerable tension for the respondent as a result of divided loyalty between spouse and parent.⁸

3. If this role was associated with a "negative" attachment to the remaining parent, it tended to create tension for the respondent as a result of the conflict between expressing that hostility overtly and the dependence upon the parent for support of the self-image learned in earlier interactions with the parent. Berliner has discussed this relationship in his theory of masochism.⁹

4. The role of submission-dependence learned in *earlier* patterns of "personality-absorption" interaction with the remaining parent tended to conflict with roles of independence, aggressiveness, and decision-making which were necessitated by *later* matrimonial or occupational interactions. However, it may be that such a "submissive-dependent" role works "successfully" if later interactions permit the individual to continue this earlier role.

Meanings of Acculturation. Acculturation and/or the loss of both parents appeared to have the following meanings for the individuals so affected in the present study.

⁶ Illustrative were: "Mother threatened to put us in an orphanage when we misbehaved." "She would tell us she would jump off a cliff and we wouldn't have a mother if we didn't do as she said." "She would ignore me in public as not being hers if she didn't like me on that particular day." "She poured affection on my sister whenever I did anything wrong."

⁷ Cf., Ruesch, *loc. cit.*

⁸ In 18 cases with an extreme child-dominance pattern by the remaining parent, the 10 males left home at the average age of 25.4 and married at 27.1. The respective figures for the 8 females were 27.5 and 26.6. In several cases the respondent felt compelled to "class mother above husband" and "call mother daily" after ten years of married life in order to get advice on daily decisions.

⁹ Bernhard Berliner, "On Some Psycho-Dynamics of Masochism," *The Yearbook of Psychoanalysis*, IV: 10, 1948.

1. Acculturation had a similar meaning as losing both parents at an early age. In the latter instance the individual was involuntarily without parents, and in the former instance the respondent sought to disaffiliate from his or her parents as quickly as possible through acculturation.

The prominence in the present study of the loss of both parents at an early age, whether through death or acculturation, can be noted by comparing the percentage of all children in the United States under eighteen years of age who are still living with neither (6.5 per cent), one (8.6 per cent), or both (84.8 per cent) parents,¹⁰ with the percentage in the present study who were still living with neither (35.2 per cent), one (31.5 per cent), or both (33.3 per cent) parents at the age of seventeen or younger. In the present study, the group living with neither parent at the age of eighteen came primarily from large and extremely poor families in which both parents were still living and had been born and reared in countries other than the United States.

2. Whether the parents were lost through death or acculturation, the individual respondents were left dependent upon others for social acceptance.

3. Their attempts to achieve this social acceptance enhanced the development of a submissive-dependent role in the following ways: (a) They tended to emphasize conformity to others in order to be accepted by new parent and family images and by the new society. (b) They were constantly reminded while interacting with members of the new society that they were "foreigners," so that they consistently strove to discard their own identity. (c) In discarding their own identity and background, they were made aware in interactions with others that they themselves were without the security of parental and family ties as well as childhood acquaintances. (d) The rapidity of their acculturation appeared to be related to their ability to adapt to and agree with members of the dominant or accepting culture.

4. However, tension arose for these individuals when "success" in later occupational roles and/or interactions with in-laws and spouse necessitated an independent, assertive, and decision-making role, rather than the earlier dependent-submissive role which had enabled them to acculturate.

5. Here again it may be that such a "submissive-dependent" role works "successfully" if present interactions permit the individual to continue the earlier role.

¹⁰ L. T. Dublin and M. Spiegelman, *The Facts of Life* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951).

This basic conflict between the earlier and later roles was illustrated in another way. The respondents were asked to indicate (a) their "assets, or positive, 'good' points as a personality" and (b) their liabilities, or negative 'bad' points as a personality." In answer to (a), 75.9 per cent gave such answers as: "get along well with others," "friendly," "very patient," "agreeable," "control my temper," and "seldom get angry." In answer to (b), 81.5 per cent gave as answers: "too quiet," "lack of confidence," "wishy-washy," "lack push," "feel inadequate and too sensitive." The attitudes and behavior patterns which the respondents viewed as being assets in *earlier* interactions appear to be but one side of the same coin of attitudes and behavior patterns which become liabilities in *later* matrimonial and occupational roles.

Questions for Future Research. (1) In psychoanalytically oriented studies of parent-child fixation, is the presence or absence of the "non-fixated" parent established? (2) How are parental reward and discipline systems related to emotional and mental disorders? (a) Is there a nexus between the discipline system utilized and the fact that it is administered by only one parent? (b) Is the "threat of love withdrawal" and its concomitant personality absorption used more frequently when only one parent administers discipline and rewards? (3) Are a submissive-dependent self-image and role learned more frequently in interaction with only one parent than with two parents? If so, what is the significance of age, sex, and birth order in differential sibling response to a single parent? (4) Do individuals in the process of acculturation tend to learn and utilize a dependent-submissive role in their attempts to be accepted by the "new" class, country, or society? And how do individuals able to reverse roles chronologically or concurrently differ from those unable to do so?

SOCIOLOGY AS A WORLD-WIDE SOCIAL SCIENCE

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In recent years the world-wide spread of sociology has been made evident by the organization of the International Sociological Association. The preliminary meeting of this body was held in Oslo, Norway, in September 1949 and was attended by delegates from 21 countries. Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago was a leading figure in the initial meeting¹ of this organization and served as the first president (1950-52). After his death, Robert C. Angell of the University of Michigan became (1953) the second president.

The First World Congress of Sociology was held in Zurich, Switzerland, September 1950. Thirty countries were represented by delegates and 56 papers were read. These reports fell under three headings: sociological research in its bearing on international relations, the role of the citizen in a planned society, and the role of minorities in international affairs.²

The Second World Congress of Sociology met at the University of Liege, Belgium, in August 1953 and was attended by 281 delegates from 34 countries. A total of 156 papers were read, dealing with four major themes, namely, social stratification and social mobility, intergroup conflicts and their mediation, recent developments in sociological research, and the training and the responsibilities of sociologists.³

A quarterly journal which was established in 1952 and entitled *Current Sociology* presents "An International Bibliography of Sociology," prepared chiefly by the staff of the International Sociological Association and published by Unesco (Paris). One recent double issue contained a classified bibliography of over 3,000 listings for the preceding year. The items are, first of all, sociological, but include many

¹This meeting was called under the auspices of Unesco.

²A report on these papers appeared in the *International Social Science Bulletin*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1951.

³Reports on the papers dealing with social stratification and social mobility appear in Volume I of the *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology* (London: International Sociological Association, 1954). The papers on recent developments in sociological research and on the training and the responsibilities of sociologists were reported on in Volume II of the *Transactions*, but the papers on intergroup conflicts were omitted from the *Transactions*, for many will appear in print elsewhere.

on social psychology, social anthropology, and demography. The aim is to increase the scope of documentation of materials in sociology and to make such improved documentation more widely available.

The aim of the International Sociological Association is "to advance sociological knowledge throughout the world" by developing "personal contacts between sociologists throughout the world," by furthering "the international dissemination and exchange of information on significant developments in sociological knowledge," and by promoting social research.⁴ Membership in the International Sociological Association consists primarily of sociological associations, of individuals from countries where no association exists, and of other individuals representing special situations.

At the Second World Congress of Sociology several sociologists from the United States took part, as might be expected, for the United States ranks highest in number of sociologists. It has recently been estimated that there are in the United States about 2,000 persons who call themselves sociologists and who are recognized as such.⁵ In 1953 there were 68 departments of sociology in as many different universities and colleges in the United States (and Canada) which conferred the degree of doctor of philosophy in sociology.⁶

The *Transactions* of the Second World Congress of Sociology contains research reports not only from the United States but also from many western European countries, due partly to the fact that sociology has had an extensive growth in those countries, but also because the Congress met in that region (Liege). However, one contributor to the program asserted that sociology is backward in Europe because of the divergence of opinion among European sociologists as to how the subject matter should be organized.⁷ Among the European countries represented by the participants were Belgium, Denmark, England, Scotland, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia.

Because of space limitations only one paper from the European group will be reported on here, briefly, that by René König, professor of sociology, University of Cologne, on the subject of experiences in social research techniques in Germany and Switzerland.⁸ The emphasis is on the importance of empirical research methods, those discussed being interviewing, sampling, and making community studies. One problem

⁴ *Transactions*, II: xix.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II:216.

⁶ *American Journal of Sociology*, LX:55.

⁷ *Transactions*, II: 199.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II: 58-73.

of interviewing relates to the fact that "in the social sciences everything is connected with everything else."⁹ Consequently, one interview with a person on a given subject will move off in one direction, and another interview with the same person on the same subject by another person will move off in another direction, and both may get lost in experiential entanglements. But if an interview is structured so that the results can be treated statistically, the innermost human facts may be overlooked entirely.

Another problem in interviewing involves the fact that two different populations may react quite differently to being interviewed, or a given population may react differently to being interviewed in two different fields of life. Many Germans, for example, believe that "being questioned has proved to be a very dangerous tool in undermining democracy."¹⁰ They think of the inquisitorial interviewer, of the anti-Communist investigator, of the Nazi interviewer, and they react against all interviewers. The peoples in a traditional population will view interviewers as "snoopers" into their private affairs. Upper income and upper educational populations are suspicious of interviewers, unless the interview relates to something that these populations want very much or to something regarding which they think that it is "safe" to complain.

In the discussion of sampling, Konig points out that the large sample, as used in polling, fails to get the "detailed and thoroughgoing information" that is possible in a small sample. The pollster often uses the quota control sample, but "at least in scientific research, the quota control sample is quite useless, and will never give us reliable information," for there is great difficulty in "calculating the standard error," and in knowing how far "the results are purely accidental or founded on actual differences in the universe."¹¹

Another sampling problem develops because "randomization is not randomlike at all," but as Goode and Hatt have said, a random sample, in one sense, "is not random but carefully planned."¹² Although difficult to conduct, Konig prefers a "probability sample combined with an area sample," and "a proper strategy of sampling beyond the mathematical theory of sampling."¹³

An aspect of community research, as developed by Konig, is that those persons who are traditional-minded do not want to be objects of research on the part of those who are regarded by them as better educated

⁹ *Ibid.*, II: 60.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II: 61.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II: 66.

¹² William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), p. 214.

¹³ *Transactions*, II: 66.

or better off economically. Whether in rural or urban communities, peasants regard themselves as belonging to a different level from those who are judged to be superior, and hence they resent being investigated by any method by their so-called superiors. Moreover, the questions asked them may have a different meaning to them than they do to the interviewer, because of the difference in culture and experiences. Further, those members of a community who are highly opinionated or biased and who have settled all questions in the "right" way regard researchers as "dangerous."

Asia and Australia also were represented among the participants in the Second Congress. From the Asiatic mainland came representatives from Japan, Israel, Lebanon, Turkey. The Japan Sociological Society reports studies in rural life, industrial life, family life, as well as in sociological theory and method. The Research Seminar in Sociology of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem reports studies of youth movements, absorption of immigrants in Israel (a nation made up almost entirely of immigrants),¹⁴ communication, social participation, leadership, mobility.

Both East Africa and West Africa were represented in the Second Congress. The East African Institute of Social Research of Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda, is making immigrant labor studies, local community studies, marriage and child mortality studies. In West Africa at the University College of the Gold Coast, Achimota, the Department of Sociology is doing research in social beliefs among tribal members, attitudes and levels of aspiration of school boys, and in the nature of folklore. The Department finds it difficult in its research work to distinguish between sociology and social anthropology. Social anthropologists, it is stated, "regard all human societies as being within the field of their study" but have concentrated on nonliterate human societies because these are small enough to be studied thoroughly. In Africa it is "extremely difficult to maintain that social anthropology and sociology are two distinct disciplines," although their methods of research are somewhat different. Social anthropology in Africa studies "small-scale and comparatively homogeneous societies" and leaves the study of other societies to sociology.¹⁵

South American countries which had participants in the Second Congress were Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Uruguay, Venezuela. Other American countries besides the United States were Canada,

¹⁴ See Donald R. Taft and Richard Robbins, *International Migrations* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955), Chap. 12, for an interesting chapter on Israel as a nation that is largely the product of migrations from many parts of the world.

¹⁵ *Transactions*, II:76, 78.

Panama, and Mexico. It may be noted that in Mexico a dozen universities besides the National University are cited as offering sociology courses.¹⁶ In some cases the main subjects are in the field of the sociology of law. The Institute of Social Investigation of the National Autonomous University of Mexico is making studies of indigenous races, of indigenous housing, of the communal land system,¹⁷ of linguistic families, of students who drop out of the university. The Institute has founded a Library of Sociological Essays and publishes a series of Sociology Booklets. The *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* was founded in 1939 at the National University and helps to make known the results of sociological studies in Mexico as well as some of the studies of well-known sociologists of other countries.

The deontology of the sociological profession received attention at the Second World Congress under the more specific heading of "the training, professional activities, and responsibilities of sociologists." A sociologist has some obligations besides doing research. Even in research he has responsibilities of an ethical nature. It was pointed out at the Congress that a chief problem now facing sociologists is "the commercial erosion of their academic segment." This erosion is seen in the domination in the United States "of university sociology departments by problem-solving and special-interest subsidised research bureaus." Competition between departments of sociology for research funds from special interests is beginning to develop. Some departments "devote much of their time" to problems, not "of concern to mankind" or "to scientific sociological problems," but to those "merely or directly of service to special interests." As a result, a Ph.D. student does not have an opportunity to do an independent piece of research, but makes "a prescribed contribution to a professor's subsidized investigation." There is a danger that "the managerial technicians and their pecuniarily oriented mores will further submerge the scientific spirit in sociology."¹⁸

"The sociologist should give up extensive study of any particular structure of human behavior which finds no clearly 'sympathetic' response in him," according to Professor C. Pellizzi of the Institute of Sociology of the University of Florence, for his conception of the situation may be extrinsic and "therefore in some way arbitrary."¹⁹ In order that the results of any sociological study may be wholly true, the study

¹⁶ For example, the universities of Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, Nuevo León, Oaxaca, Querétaro, Hidalgo, Yucatan, Campeche, Puebla, and Durango.

¹⁷ For a related study, see H. F. Infield and K. Frier, *People in Ejidos* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1954).

¹⁸ *Transactions*, II:157, 158, 161.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II:168.

"should be tackled by more than one scholar" and by scholars from more than one nationality and culture background.

Ruth Glass of University College, London, deplored the cult of scientific detachment from social activity believed in by some sociologists and the development in some quarters of a "mumbo-jumbo of a pseudo-scientific terminology," whereby people of affairs not only do not understand what the sociologist is trying to say but react against sociology itself. The sociologist has a responsibility to make himself comprehensible.²⁰

This sampling of the wide range of reports given at the Second World Congress suggests that the day may not be far distant when joint sociological studies may be conducted simultaneously in different areas of the world. There is already a similarity in research areas and subjects, although a wide diversity in methods and techniques obtains.

If there can be no international law until there is international understanding, and if this understanding will be based on similar knowledge about the attitudes and values of different peoples, then the need is urgent for the extension of jointly conducted sociological studies in many parts of the world. As a knowledge of the attitudes and values of the various peoples of the world develops, the rise of sociology as a world-wide social science will be at hand.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II: 220 ff.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

Pacific Sociological Society. The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society was held in Santa Barbara, California, April 22 and 23, under the general direction of its president, Charles B. Spaulding, who gave the presidential address. He urged that current microscopic pieces of research be supplemented by studies of the larger social frameworks of which the piecemeal researches are disconnected parts. The abstraction and comparison of research fragments are not enough, but need to be supplemented by research concerning the nature of the larger frameworks, such as the evolution of human society, of the social systems, and of various social institutions. A total of twenty papers was presented, largely of diverse and unrelated pieces of research which gave point to the need expressed by President Spaulding. The plan of having a discussant prepare a short statement for each two of the main papers at a time worked well. Only in a few instances, however, did the authors of main papers have opportunity to reply to criticisms of the discussant, and only a few questions were entertained from the interested audiences. On the whole, a carefully planned and well-executed program was carried out. The attendance was good in numbers and in distribution from the various areas of the wide-spread region represented by the Pacific Sociological Society.

University of Arizona. Edward H. Spicer was granted a year's leave to complete the first volume of a projected two-volume "Cultural History of the American Southwest." He received a Guggenheim Fellowship award for this purpose. The Alpha Kappa Delta Society recently established the Frederick A. Conrad Sociological Award. Joseph Pobrislo was the first recipient of the award.

University of California, Santa Barbara. Joseph B. Ford, assistant professor of sociology at Los Angeles State College, will teach two courses in the Sociology Department during the summer session.

University of Idaho. In addition to the regular summer school courses in the social sciences, two three-week workshops will be available. The first is devoted to the problems of youth in American communities. It is designed to meet the requirements of social science majors and minors, and for teachers, recreational leaders, social welfare workers, probation officers, and others interested in the problems of youth. The second workshop deals with the Indian in the Pacific Northwest History. This is a cooperative activity in the fields of history and anthropology. In addition to bibliographical study of Northwest Indian history and culture, the workshop includes field trips to archaeological sites and Indian reservations, and interviews with Indian tribal leaders.

University of Southern California. George Ellis joins the Department of Sociology as an instructor. Ellis completed his graduate work at Yale University under the guidance of Professor August Hollingshead. Martin H. Neumeyer's *Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society*, Second Edition, and James Peterson's *Education for Marriage* were both published in May. Emory S. Bogardus has revised his *Development of Social Thought* for a third edition, which was published in April by Longmans, Green and Company. Drs. Bogardus and Neumeyer installed the Epsilon chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta at Occidental College in May 1955.

University of Washington. Clarence C. Schrag has been granted an additional year's leave of absence from the Department of Sociology to head the Department of Public Institutions in the state. Norman Hayner has been appointed Chairman of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles for the year 1955-56. Sanford M. Dornbusch resigned to accept a position at Harvard University in the Department of Social Relations. Martin Martel from Cornell University and Ernest A. T. Barth from the University of North Carolina have been added as instructors in sociology. Richard Hill has accepted a position as director of a research project in the School of Nursing of the University of Washington for the next two years. Louis Orzack and L. Wesley Wager will also be engaged in a study for the School of Nursing under a grant from the U.S. Public Health Service. Calvin F. Schmid has been appointed to the Dental Survey Advisory Committee of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education. The Washington Public Opinion Laboratory is publishing a report summarizing its work in the past seven years. Copies are available without charge from the Department of Sociology.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY. By Sarkis Atamian. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955, pp. 479.

This is a history of "the Armenian community" in Asia, Europe, and America, and gives an account of ideological differences and conflicts. The author asserts that "few, if any, communities are as completely divided or show such intense conflict as the Armenian community" in the United States, despite terrible persecutions by oppressor nations and despite freedom from oppression in the United States, where old-world conflicts break out anew.

AMERICAN INDIAN AND WHITE CHILDREN. By Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. v+335.

This book is an extensive sociopsychological investigation by a committee of social scientists from the University of Chicago. The volume is unique in the literature of social psychology, since it is a complete report on a cross-cultural study of moral and emotional development among children from American Indian tribes and children from a typical Midwestern community.

The general purpose of the research was to study "the development of Indian children in six American Indian tribes—their moral, emotional, and intellectual development—so as to derive implications for the education of Indian children." One thousand Indian children from the Papago, Hopi, Zia, Zuni, Navaho, and Sioux tribes were compared with seven hundred white children from a Midwestern city to learn how, and at what rate, children develop in their cultural environment.

A great variety of tests were used to determine "What are the sources of reward and punishment in the life of children from each of the cultures?" "How do the child's ideas of right and wrong develop?" "What attitudes does the child develop toward other people?" "What are the child's principal emotional experiences?" "What concepts and attitudes does the child develop toward the supernatural?" The researchers used the Emotional Response, Moral Ideology, and Moral Judgment Tests, combined with free drawing and Piaget-type questions regarding attitudes. The results of comparing children from different tribes with children from an American community are of special interest to many different groups of people.

FLOYD A. POLLOCK

Stephen F. Austin State College

RETURN TO LAUGHTER. By Elenore S. Bowen. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. 276.

In this book a professional anthropologist has described in considerable detail her experiences during the twenty-six months that she studied a primitive tribe of Africa. She thought it advisable not to reveal the name of the tribe or the real names of the persons dealt with. "All the characters of this book," she says, "except myself, are fictitious in the fullest meaning of the word. I knew people of the type I have described here; the incidents of the book are of the genre I myself experienced in Africa."

On arrival, the author did not know the language of the tribe, and she did not use an interpreter, because she had been advised by experi-

enced anthropologists that the best method to learn a language is to be without an interpreter. The author has recorded two aspects of her research: one the life and culture of the people, the other her own reactions to what she observed. Although she had planned to be thoroughly objective, in the course of her research she became personally involved in the problems of the people, especially so in their critical, life-and-death situations. This involvement led to changes in her attitude or her philosophy concerning her subject matter and methods of research. "Many of my moral dilemmas," she writes, "had sprung from the very nature of my work, which had made me a trickster: one who seems to be what he is not and who professes faith in what he does not believe . . . I had changed. Whatever the merits of anthropology to the world or of my work to anthropology, this experience had wrought many changes in me as a human being."

The book contains many interesting aspects of the culture of those primitive people, such as their living faith in the power of witchcraft. Some fine bits of folk philosophy are also recorded, for instance, the following: "To die barren what sign that you lived is then left on earth?" "Hate will remain. And once a wrong has been done, it never dies." The latter of these reminds one of Shakespearean wisdom—"The evil that men do lives after them."

LOUIS PETROFF

Southern Illinois University

THE COLOUR PROBLEM. By Anthony H. Richmond. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1955, pp. 370.

In this original treatise under the "Pelican" label the author gives a factual description of current racial relations in South Africa, British Colonial Africa, British West Indies, and also in Britain. He discusses specific questions, such as *apartheid* in South Africa, the Mau Maus in central East Africa, and "the aftermath of slavery in the West Indies." He analyzes racial attitudes and defines prejudice in any field as "a defense mechanism enabling the individual to handle inner conflicts engendered by a failure to make a completely successful adjustment to society."

The author believes there is a fallacy behind the apartheid movement in South Africa. The theory is unsound that "if only the African could be persuaded to live his own life apart from the European, then all would be well," because "the effects of culture contact have already gone too far to be arrested." The plan might have worked two hundred years ago, but it is now too late, in this day of one intercommunicating world. It is contended that "so-called 'white civilization' will only be preserved

by sharing its fruits with non-Europeans" and that "somehow or other the various ethnic groups . . . must find a way of living together." Various factors such as "religious, aesthetic, and ideological . . . will make wholesale racial mixture highly unlikely." The question today in Africa is: Will "the political and economic power now possessed by the dominant European minorities" be used "to exploit the sectional interest of Europeans," or "for creating an economically sound and politically harmonious multi-racial society"? The author has raised far-reaching questions relative to the survival of the white race and has given thought-provoking answers.

E.S.B.

THE TASTEMAKERS. By Russell Lynes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955, pp. 362.

Of no little interest to sociologists and social anthropologists of the American scene is this informal and sometimes witty study of taste in America, the people and the social pressures that shaped it, and its effect upon our society. Lynes begins the story in the 1840's with the cultural missionaries who were so gallantly attempting to refine America. It continues through the late nineteenth century and the influence of such financial moguls as Vanderbilt and Morgan. The story ends with the revolution in taste caused by modern art and what Lynes calls "Corporate Taste" with business and industry patronizing the arts. Included in the last part of the book is Lynes' well-remembered essay on highbrows, middlebrows, and lowbrows. The text is accompanied by excellent and unusual illustrations.

BRUCE A. WATSON

Lakeport, California

THE TREE OF CULTURE. By Ralph Linton. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955, pp. 692.

In this book Professor Linton portrays the main events in the growth of culture from the earliest crude stone tools of the Lower Pleistocene to the tremendously varied and complex cultures of the literate world. The volume is a monumental work—for the writing of which Linton was probably better fitted, both in knowledge and temperament, than any other anthropologist. It makes fascinating reading for anyone interested in the vast panoramic sweep of mankind's cultural development from its simplest beginning up to historic times.

The book begins with a brief account of man's biological evolution, which is followed by discussions of evolutionary processes, basic inven-

tions of man along the long road he has come, and of hunting and food-gathering people both of Paleolithic and historic times. Parts five through nine consider, one by one, the major cultural regions of the Old World: Southeast Asia and Europe, the Mediterranean world, Africa, the Orient. In each instance Linton, beginning with the prehistory of the region, carries the story of its cultural growth to the highest developments of early historic times. He also traces the influences of the cultures of the various regions on other regions. Part ten is a somewhat abbreviated treatment of the New World in the same terms.

Professor Linton died before the manuscript was finished. His widow, Adelin Linton, carried the work through to completion. She deserves sincere praise for a job well done. One wonders, however, if certain repetitious phrases and other slight stylistic annoyances might not have been eliminated if Dr. Linton had had time to go over the completed manuscript at his leisure. A more serious criticism, when one thinks of the lay reader, is that Linton did not distinguish between (1) what are accepted as facts by anthropologists generally, (2) interpretations that are widely held but do not have the status of established facts, and (3) interpretations of his own that are stimulating and perhaps often basically correct, but which are nevertheless essentially idiosyncratic. There is no doubt, however, that his treatment aids the narrative flow and will make the book easier for the interested layman to read. Those who have some background in the material covered will have little trouble in making the distinctions.

The pen-and-ink drawings and maps by Will Huntington, that profusely illustrate the volume, deserve special mention for their high quality and the interest they add to the book. J. E. WECKLER

ICELAND: OLD-NEW REPUBLIC. By Amy E. Jensen. New York: Exposition Press, 1954, pp. 362.

In this well-written and fact-filled book the reader will find an immense number of interesting data concerning the past and present life of the Icelandic people. In taking up one aspect after another of Icelandic life, the author usually begins with historical materials and brings the reader up to the present in a well-integrated manner.

Icelanders are depicted as a nearly homogeneous people descended from brave and able Norsemen of ten centuries ago. Once isolated, Iceland is fast becoming a crossroads of the world because of the airplane

services and excellent airports (in Keflavik and Reykjavik respectively). Thanks to the influence of the Gulf Stream, Iceland has an average January temperature several degrees warmer than that of Chicago. Because of piping in water from the thermal springs nearby, almost every building in the capital (Reykjavik) is heated by hot water.

The book throws light on the fact that Icelanders buy more books per person than in any other country of the world, that they have more cooperatives per person than elsewhere, that they have more choral societies per person than any other nation. The book, however, needs documentation showing the sources of the factual materials.

E.S.B.

READINGS IN ANTHROPOLOGY. By Adamson Hoebel, Jesse D. Jennings, and Elmer R. Smith. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1955, pp. 417+xiv.

This work contains a large variety of well-selected materials on the different aspects of anthropology—including some fifty articles on early as well as on most recent researches by authorities or specialists in their respective fields of the subject. In their selection the compilers have been guided by the criteria of significance, readability, and suitability of the materials for the beginning students in anthropology. The editors have offered no explanatory or evaluating comments, but have reprinted the original articles with some deletions and other minor editorial changes. Although the readings are "primarily and specifically keyed to" Adamson Hoebel's text in general anthropology, *Man in the Primitive World*, they would well supplement any other introductory anthropology text.

LOUIS PETROFF

Southern Illinois University

NINE SOVIET PORTRAITS. By Raymond A. Bauer. New York: John Wiley & Sons, and Boston: The Technology Press, 1955, pp. 190.

In this book dedicated "To those refugees from Soviet communism whose life stories are contained herein," the author presents nine "synthetic portraits of 'typical Soviet types'" as follows: students, woman collective farmer, woman doctor, Party secretary, housewife, writer, factory director, tractor driver, and secret police agent. The sketches are written in a conversational fictional form.

CAPRICORN ROAD. By Francois Balsan. Translated from the French by Pamela Search. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955, pp. 252, 16 photographs.

This travel book relates the experiences of six Frenchmen and three South Africans (led by explorer Balsan) in traveling across southern Africa from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean in 1951 in a ten-ton, four-wheel lorry. Kalahari Bushmen were discovered in an explorer's trip made exciting by lion hunting and witch doctoring.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

STUDYING YOUR COMMUNITY. By Roland L. Warren. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, pp. xii+385.

This book presents plans for a complete community survey and covers the essential interests involved, both organized and informal. Among the fields receiving maximum attention are government, education, religious activities, health and welfare programs. The sociological aspects also are considered.

For each of the fields studied, the author presents excellent sample questionnaires or schedules, thus facilitating the task of a prospective social investigator. A number of foot-rules are included in the study, such as a table indicating the number of families needed to support various kinds of businesses and the size of a city population able to support a full-time medical clinic. Figures from the Douglass survey of rural churches likewise will prove helpful in making comparisons.

The author says that a survey should consider intergroup and racial relations and should note the local connections made by agencies engaged in a larger field of operation, such as state-wide or nation-wide organizations that perform some service for the local community. Surveys need to be sufficiently horizontal in character to discover whether a community is advancing or declining.

The book cites publications both public and private that already may give much of the information desired. The steps ordinarily necessary in organizing a survey are given detailed attention. Anyone attempting a community survey would do well to equip himself with this excellent treatment of the subject.

G.B.M.

AUTOMOBILE WORKERS AND THE AMERICAN DREAM. By Ely Chinoy. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955, pp. xx+139.

Bacon's *Idols of the Theatre*, in this instance the "tradition of opportunity and success" as a "folk gospel deeply imbedded in American life," has been subjected to a comparison with the actual experiences of a group of automobile workers in a middle-sized Midwestern city. The folk gospel of success via vertical mobility, stimulated once by Horatio Alger, by political and ideological writers, and by numerous platitudinous orators at graduation time has tended to become an integral part of our folklore. Little basis for fact exists so far as the industrial workers in the present automatized age are concerned. Professor Chinoy explores the problems created for the auto workers by this disparity between tradition and reality in a fine analytical survey of their actual opportunities and their reactions to their jobs.

He chose the automotive industrial worker because he was a part of a "glamorous, relatively new industry whose growth has dramatized the American tradition of opportunity, but whose present character makes it extremely difficult . . . to realize the American dream." What does it take to get to the top? Americans in general have been admonished that the path is open for all those who have what it takes, that hardships endured are but spurs to success, that opportunity is limited only by one's vision of the future, that the capacity for hard work is essential, and that a high level of aspiration must be maintained. Interviewing the plant workers revealed that most of them realized that the structure of opportunity in the plant was not a pyramid. Rather they have been content to hope that they will achieve regularity of employment, absence of physical and mental handicaps and strains, increased possession of material goods with increased wages, and the like, and that some future day will see them "out of the shop!" In other words, they have become inured to the idea that "from rags to riches," or "from ash-heap to ball-room," is not for them.

M.J.V.

PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC INTERVENTION IN SCHIZOPHRENIA. By Lewis B. Hill. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. vii +216.

The sociologist will find some interesting reading in this book in the discussion of infancy as "the period of becoming a person," on "the personality of the preschizophrenic," and on the role of the mother in the development of psychoses. Schizophrenia is referred to as "a rupture of the ego" in which much territory of the ego is taken over "by forces which are normally excluded from it."

THE METROPOLIS IN MODERN LIFE. Edited by Robert Moore Fisher.
New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955, pp. xiii+401.

This volume is the outgrowth of the first of five conferences held during 1954 under the auspices of the Columbia University Bicentennial program, in which a group of distinguished scholars from America and Europe summarized current thought regarding the influence exerted by large cities on civilization. To quote the Preface, ". . .the conference was designed to promote an understanding of the basic forces which are manifested in the modern metropolis," in order to enhance the advantages of urban living and to minimize its disadvantages.

With this end in view, the questions discussed pertained to the role of cities in the advance of civilization, changes in human institutions and personality traits, concepts of property and land law, economic gains and losses through urbanization, economic efficiency in relation to the location of urban activities, the role of science and technology, and the effects of cities on professions and on man's religious life. A final section discusses the search for the ideal city.

The work is rich both in factual research data and in thoughtful interpretation. It should prove of challenging interest to sociologists and students of city planning as well as to the general reader who seeks a greater insight into the reciprocal influences at work in urban society. It is well edited and indexed, and the commentaries following the papers by the main participants have been ably condensed. The format is attractive. *The Metropolis in Modern Life* should take its place as a distinguished contribution to the literature of urbanization in its wider cultural setting.

JOHN E. OWEN
Florida Southern College

THE ART OF CHILD PLACEMENT. By Jean Charnley. Minneapolis:
University of Minnesota Press, 1955, pp. xxi+265.

The sociologist will find this informal treatise on child placement theory and practice full of interesting sidelights on the nature of child and parent nature. In addition to a free and easy discussion of casework with children and with foster parents, there are recurring emphases on the role of an understanding heart, on an ability to empathize and communicate with children, on a knowledge of the method and philosophies of child placement. The book is lively reading from cover to cover.

THE JUVENILE IN DELINQUENT SOCIETY. By Milton L. Barron.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954, pp. xx+349.

The central theme of this book is that the problem of juvenile delinquency can be best understood and reduced in a comprehensive, societal frame of reference. Juveniles living in a "delinquent" society makes juvenile delinquency a major problem of that society. The solution of the problem depends on an orderly modification of the social structure, and some of the values and functions of that society. The author of this book draws from the fields of anthropology, psychology, sociology, and psychiatry for pertinent theory and research findings.

Part One of the book discusses delinquency as a social problem and as a unique concept. Part Two is a survey of etiological explanations and an analysis of juvenile delinquency. Part Three presents societal reactions to delinquency. The last chapter of the book deals with delinquency control and prevention. Case studies are given in appropriate sections of the book. This textbook is illustrated by a series of engravings by William Hogarth, the eighteenth-century English artist, portraying social problems of his day. It offers a point of view which is important in teaching juvenile delinquency and can be utilized to good advantage by teachers and students in the field.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

George Pepperdine College

THE SHOPPING CENTER VERSUS DOWNTOWN. By C. T. Jonassen.
Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1955, pp. xviii+170.

In this "motivation research on shopping habits and attitudes in three cities," the author supplements an earlier research study in Columbus, Ohio, with two additional studies in Houston and Seattle respectively. Among a number of important findings are these: (1) shopping behavior and attitudes are measurable; (2) shopping patterns reveal that "food, doctor's care, and movies are sought in areas nearer home," while clothing, shoes, and house furnishings are sought in downtown stores; (3) the buying of food is "most usually a weekly affair"; (4) downtown shopping occurs "more generally about once a month"; (5) the disadvantages of downtown shopping in order are difficult parking, crowds, and traffic congestion; (6) the advantages of downtown shopping in order are larger choice of goods, one can do "several errands at one time," and cheaper prices; (7) "the number and weight of downtown advantages" seem to overbalance the disadvantages; (8) higher socioeconomic groups are more favorable than lower economic groups to

downtown shopping; (9) specialized needs are served by downtown facilities, and common needs by peripheral areas; and (10) rapid social changes may undermine the advantages now experienced by downtown merchants.

This report constitutes an important contribution to the ecology of the medium-sized city. The findings are supported by excellent charts and tables and by significant shopping habit and attitude scales.

E.S.B.

THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK. Third Edition. By Arthur E. Fink, Everett E. Wilson, and Merrill B. Conover. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955, pp. ix+630.

The developments in the field of social work have brought to this text two additional authors, whose ideas and writings add to the importance of the book. The changes in the field have necessitated a rewriting of the chapters on social group work and community organization. Other chapters also were brought up to date. In addition, chapters have been added as follows: one on the kinds of difficulties which bring people to social agencies, one on social casework, and one on social services to the aged. New illustrative materials have been added. A list of sources for films produced for social work purposes and other adaptable films is given in Chapter 16. In its third edition this textbook is an important presentation for those desiring an introductory view of the field.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

George Pepperdine College

POLITICS AND SCIENCE. By William Esslinger. Foreword by Albert Einstein. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955, pp. 167.

The author tackles the problem of why "the political field and politics" have not kept up with advances in physical science and technology. In the fact that the accelerating march of science and technology "has not been matched by equal advances in other parts of our civilization" is found the great problem facing the world today. There is a great need for people to work to overcome their prejudices in politics and at the same time to work toward "peaceful world cooperation."

LIFE IN A KIBBUTZ. By Murray Weingarten. New York: The Reconstruction Press, 1955, pp. 173.

This is a well-written and well-published book about an agricultural type of social settlement that has developed in recent years in Israel. The kibbutz is not a Rochdale type of cooperative, but, properly speaking, a collective, whose members, as the author says, are expected on joining "to transfer all their wealth to the kibbutz treasury" and which "then undertakes to be completely responsible for their needs." The author is an American Jew born and educated in the United States, who helped found and develop a kibbutz (a term meaning "group") in Israel. He maintains a marked degree of objectivity in describing the daily life in this "collective" type of group, and he carefully delineates the problems and the new developments. The most successful kibbutzim are composed of a somewhat homogeneous group of people thoroughly dedicated to Zionism and to Israel, who feel that they are helping a great cause involving "the future of the whole Jewish people." A major problem comes from substituting "group incentive for individual incentive," that is, of maintaining the group incentive. An interesting problem is developing: how to put greater emphasis on the family unit without "the weakening of community ties." The book constitutes an important case study of a social experiment in Israel that has far-reaching implications.

E.S.B.

AMERICAN AGRICULTURE. Its Structure and Place in the Economy. By Ronald L. Mighell. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1955, pp. xii+187.

In this report, which was made for the Social Science Research Council in cooperation with the U.S. Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, the reader will find a discussion of the place of agriculture in "the total economic process," of the structure of commercial farms and of residential farms, and of structural strains in the nature of American agriculture. It is concluded that during the past half century rural and urban people have been becoming alike in "their well-being, their outlook, their economic opportunities, their participation in the total life" of the American community, and in "the direction of an integrated economy and society."

A.R.R.

CONSUMER COOPERATION IN NEW MEXICO. By Daniel B. Hamilton. Albuquerque: Bureau of Business Research, University of New Mexico, 1955, pp. 31.

The author reports upon the different kinds of cooperation that are functioning in New Mexico, such as retail merchandising, producer and marketing, cooperative electrification, and cooperative credit. He finds that consumer cooperation can be distinguished "from other modes of economic organization in that the locus of control is the consumer," whereas "in the usual business organization, control of the enterprise is a prerogative of the owners or their representatives and the consumer is of primary interest as a source of revenue." The author adds that "frequently the welfare of the consumer is of slight significance."

GROUP WORK. Foundations and Frontiers. Edited by Harleigh B. Trecker. New York: Whiteside, Inc., and William Morrow and Company, 1955, pp. xii+418.

This book is composed of an Introduction (by the editor) and two parts. In Part I, entitled "The Foundations of Group Work," the reader will find 29 articles (by 32 authors), which appeared in the official organ of the American Association of Group Workers, *The Group*, and which covers the period from 1939 to 1954. In Part II, entitled "The Frontiers of Group Work," comprising 45 pages, the editor has analyzed the replies that he received from a number of questions addressed to 39 group workers, both group work practitioners and teachers of group work. He covers 16 "areas," considered to be of importance to group workers. The authors are quoted anonymously, but all are listed by name in the editor's introduction.

The sociologist will find delight in the reprint of many articles. Slavson's "Leadership and Democracy Are Compatible" is a classic. Polansky's "On the Dynamics of Behavioral Contagion," Lucy Carner's "Assignment in Social Action," Ralph L. Kolodny's "The Research Process—An Aid in Daily Practice," and Godfrey Frankel's "Acceptance and Rejection in Membership" are some of the outstanding presentations with sociological implications. In a second edition the editor may well add a section in which he summarizes both the "Foundations" and "Frontiers" of group work. An index is also needed.

HANS A. ILLING

1,000,000 DELINQUENTS. By Benjamin Fine. Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1955, pp. 377.

Another journalist, who is the Education Director of the *New York Times*, joins the rank of those reporters whose assignment is the correctional field. The author's background, a doctorate in education from Columbia, gives assurance to the lay reader to whom the book is addressed that the research undertaken and the methods employed are not to be taken as sensational findings. The pros and cons of our police and court systems come under close scrutiny, as do our public and private training schools. But Dr. Fine's gateway to the reader's insight into the multifold aspects of delinquency is the home, with its physical and moral roots.

HANS A. ILLING

MODERN CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION. By Harry Soderman and John J. O'Connell. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1953, pp. 56.

This comprehensive encyclopedia of criminal investigation is substantially a guide and manual for members of law enforcement agencies. Herein are compiled and pragmatically presented the outstanding scientific police procedures for the detection and apprehension of the criminal. In this, the fourth edition, the authors have included a larger section devoted to the psychology of deviant behavior and have incorporated the technological advancements made in the field of criminal investigation since the publication of its predecessor in 1945. The wealth of illustrations—photographs, charts, and diagrams—together with the well-annotated bibliography, detailed explanation, glossary, and chapters of questions to test the student's understanding of the material, make the book a unique and important asset not only to those directly or indirectly concerned with law enforcement but also to writers of either fact or fiction in this and related areas.

NICK MASSARO

Long Beach State College

POMP AND PESTILENCE. By Ronald Hare. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955, pp. 224.

The titles of the chapters indicate the field covered, namely, man and his parasites, the reaction of the individual, the reaction of the community, parasites and population.

SELECTED FILMS FOR WORLD UNDERSTANDING. Compiled by Wendell W. Williams. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, 1955, pp. 88.

In this annotated "guide to films for study and discussion of America's role in the world today," the reader will find a total of 381 films classified according to subject matter areas. These are all 16 mm. sound films, with the running time and the rental charges that are made by educational film libraries being given.

GOOD HEALTH FOR YOU, YOUR FAMILY, AND YOUR COMMUNITY. By N. S. Walke, Nathan Doscher, and Glenna G. Caddy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1955, pp. xii+415.

In the Preface, the authors define health as "a condition of well-being that helps the individual to perform happily his personal, familial, and community tasks." Then, they give a chapter to each of the following topics that may interest sociologists: heredity, demography, housing and environment, recreation and rest. The remainder of the twenty-three chapters deals with practical aspects of health.

SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

CLASS AND SOCIETY. By Kent B. Mayer. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955, pp. 88.

In the first three chapters the author discusses certain concepts that he considers vital to the treatment of social stratification, such as "class, life chances, status group, power, class consciousness, and social mobility." In the remaining five chapters he describes and analyzes "the class structure of contemporary American society." He shows how "economic inequalities strongly influence" the opportunities of individuals "to stay healthy and survive, their prospects of getting a higher education, and their chances of obtaining justice and legal protection." These differentials create classes in the United States and result "in differences of social prestige." They also result in "large differentials of authority and power" in influencing local and national politics and in creating a class consciousness, all of which are offset in part by a social mobility that softens rigidity of social structure.

E.S.B.

THE PROCESS AND EFFECTS OF MASS COMMUNICATION. By Wilbur Schramm. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1954, pp. 586.

The study of mass communication is receiving increasing attention. Wilbur Schramm, the author and editor of several books in this field, has rendered a distinct contribution to the understanding of mass communication. The present volume has material on "The Process of Communication," with a description of how communication works; the major effects of communication, with special emphasis on the audiences of mass communication; "Getting the Meaning Understood," "Modifying Attitudes and Opinions," and "Effects in Terms of Groups," including crowds, the public, and forms of mass persuasion; and a final section on "Special Problems of Achieving an Effect with International Communications."

The book originated in the United States Information Agency's need for material which could be used in training new personnel in research and evaluation. The Institute for Communication Research at the University of Illinois, which has a wider field of interest, assumed the responsibility of assembling the materials. As a source book it has special value for sociologists because it not only brings together the main source materials but contains a list of one hundred references on the subject.

M.H.N.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. By Paul M. A. Linebarger. Washington, D.C.: Combat Forces Press, 1954, pp. xv+318.

This is the second edition of this well-known and informative book; as such, it contains refinements and materials emanating out of the experiences of the Korean conflict. Dr. Linebarger went to Korea several times as a consultant and, on occasion, flew over enemy territory in propaganda planes. His knowledge of the Chinese character and of the Chinese language has been brought to good use in interpreting some of the developments in Communist China, notably in ascertaining the nature of the infamous "brain-washing" technique, a method which begins by inducing what amounts to a severe nervous breakdown and ends with the rebuilding of the personality involved.

The account begins with the citation of historic examples of psychological warfare, as old as mankind but some still offering sound techniques. The last two great wars have shown "an increasing emphasis on ideology or political faith as driving forces behind warfare rather than the considerations of coldly calculated diplomacy." Making the book most valuable for the student of propaganda and psychology are the

well-defined and finely analyzed techniques employed in the past. One of the formulas given for spot analysis of propaganda, for instance, is called the "Stasm Formula": *S* ource; *T* ime; *A* udience; *S* ubject; *M* ission.

The so-called "cold war" of the present is given some penetrating searching by the author, who admits that in 1946 when he wrote the first edition, while he was suspicious of Communism he had no idea of the fury or seriousness of the attack upon the non-Communist world which would follow. What may end the "cold war" situation? Five possibilities are listed: namely, a war leading to the destruction of one of the parties; prolongation until new and more interesting quarrels arrive; reconciliation of the systems; collapse of all civilizations under the impact of thermonuclear weapons; and gradual erosion of the anti-Communist world and eventual Communist victory or the alternative situation. The book as it now stands may be looked upon as an important and thoroughgoing examination piece for knowledge in mass communication, its illustrations considerably enhancing its value.

M.J.V.

THE URBAN SOUTH. Edited by Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xii+307.

This informative book might well have been titled "The South Moves to Town." Eighteen prominent social scientists joined forces to produce this symposium, which consists of a series of fourteen essays on the process of urbanization in the South. It considers the emergence, growth, change, and future of the Southern city as a social organization, and what these changes mean to race relations, Southern politics, community organization, and city planning.

Part I is concerned with the history of urbanization in the South. Included are such topics as emergence, growth, and development of cities, the impact of occupational shift and economic progress, and peopling the city through migration and fertility.

Part II deals with significant developments of social action, integration, and sociophysical aspects of urban organization. Consideration is given to social class and conformity, involving changes and contrasts in traditions, social values, morals and customs, and the social changes attendant on urbanization which result in an increased rate of crime in the South.

With the many changes already wrought by urbanization and industrialization, and with the never-ending changes which are coming to the South, Part III considers the question: "How will the South's new urbanization affect the region's future?" The question is too complex to make accurate predictions. However, there is much to indicate that certain specific forces and mechanisms of change are moving the South in new directions. Along with these changes and their accompanying conclusions, the South is losing some of its traditions and some of its distinctive characteristics which have tended to set it apart from the rest of the nation.

FLOYD A. POLLOCK

Stephen F. Austin State College

THE FAMILY: AS PROCESS AND INSTITUTION. By Clifford Kirkpatrick. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955, pp. xxiii+651.

This textbook attempts to describe the family, as the subtitle indicates, both as process and as an institution. The basic thesis is that "the family process is a flow of family experience from generation to generation, in the course of which family members develop aspirations, expectations, and roles." The chief interest is in the American family, which is described against a background provided by history, biology, and the social sciences. After describing the nature and origins of the family, an analysis is made of family types and dilemmas and a section is devoted to the history and social changes of the family. In surveying the historical background of the American family, the author condenses a wide range of material in a concise manner.

The major portion of the book is devoted to the life cycle of family experience, followed by a shorter section on the crises and disintegrating aspects, and then by a brief discussion of family reorganization. In stressing the life cycle of family experience, the author discusses the stages of development, beginning with infancy, through childhood and adolescence, dating and love experiences, selection of a mate, youth and sex expression, prediction of marital success, marriage adjustments, and having children, with only brief discussions of the problems of the older years.

A great deal of material is reviewed and summarized, which makes the reading, especially from the point of view of students, a little difficult; but as a source of information the book is quite valuable. Theory and empirical research findings are integrated and the material is organized around dominant themes. In the 25-page appendix is a concise summary of the sources and findings on marital success.

M.H.N.

SOCIAL FICTION AND DRAMA

THE BAD SEED. A Novel by William March. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 247.

THE BAD SEED. A Play in Two Acts by Maxwell Anderson. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1954, pp. 96.

Enough to make any eugenist's heart beat with marked but not always rhythmical ticks, *The Bad Seed* tells the tragic story of Christine Penmark and her eight-year-old daughter, Rhoda. Christine, an adopted child of a philanthropically minded crime reporter, Richard Bravo, had been brought up without knowledge of her parentage. Bravo had reported the trial of the notorious Bessie Denker, who had murdered several people, always for the possession of their money or their estates. For years Christine had been unaware that she was the daughter of Bessie, save for an occasional hint of her subconscious manifested in dreams.

Married happily to Colonel Ker neth Penmark and doting over little Rhoda, Christine slowly realizes that her child has developed what amounts to a fiendish lust for obtaining whatever she wants. Once, indeed, an old lady had promised Rhoda a crystal ornament, to be bestowed upon her in her will. Not long after the promise, the old lady falls down a stairway to her death. Rhoda receives the crystal. Not however until a schoolmate Claude Daigle wins a coveted penmanship medal at the Misses Ferns' private school does Christine begin to fear for her daughter and her sense of acquisitiveness, for she had set her heart upon securing the medal. The day of the picnic arrives and Rhoda pursues Claude about the grounds. When later Claude's body is found lifeless in the lake, the medal has disappeared. Returning home, Christine hears about the tragedy and fears the effect it may have upon Rhoda. However, Rhoda exclaims that she doesn't feel anything at all about the tragedy. It is Leroy, the janitor of the apartment, who suspects that Rhoda has had something to do with the affair and goes so far as to tell her she will be electrocuted in a nice pink chair. That settles Leroy's fate.

The penmanship medal is found by Christine in her daughter's keepsake box, and then she knows that Rhoda has been responsible for the drowning. The grand climax comes when she sees Rhoda entering Leroy's basement room and not long after hears cries of "Fire!" Christine, who has been studying crimes and criminals finally awakens to the knowledge that she really is the daughter of Bessie Denker, arch

murderess. There is one way out and that is to destroy the "bad seed" in both of them. Rhoda is last seen at her mother's funeral, quite content to begin another life with her father.

Maxwell Anderson has dramatized the novel, making from its plot a stirring and chilling play. Essentially, the story remains the same, but it is more sharply etched and compressed. The growing horror of the mother as she becomes more and more convinced that Rhoda is a monster and that she has been responsible is sketched with telling strokes by playwright Anderson. The inheritance of evil traits leading to criminality has not been established scientifically, but both the novelist and the playwright have endowed their works with enough plausibility for acceptance.

M.J.V.

SOCIAL PHOTOPLAY NOTES

The Man Called Peter. The production of what are called religious motion pictures is on the increase. The quality also is improving. It would be difficult to improve upon the "Martin Luther" film from the standpoint of motion picture techniques and effectiveness. "The Man Called Peter" is one of the better religious motion pictures.

As a biography of an able and prominent Protestant minister (Presbyterian) with a definite Scottish background, the motion picture presents well some of the highlights in the career of Dr. Peter Marshall, distinguished Washington, D.C., minister who became chaplain of the United States Senate.

The photography is superior and the acting for the most part sprightly, pleasing, and enlivening. The "story" is given a certain zest by presenting the role of "Catherine," the wife of the minister. It is unusual to have a number of sermon excerpts presented from the pulpit, even in a religious play, but the effective public speaking which characterizes "Peter's" sermonizing helps greatly to maintain interest.

An interpretation not intended but clearly implicit is the way in which a prominent and greatly liked public servant is called on to render so many important public services that his health, even in middle life, feels the strain and his days are shortened. The worthy demands, often made without considering how much the human physique can stand, sometimes take their heavy toll, even the life of a person nearing his prime, as in the case of capable Dr. Peter Marshall.

The production of this motion picture is to be commended because it carries on, in a limited way at least, the ministry of Dr. Marshall. It suggests in part the high spiritual feelings that the book by the same title creates.

E.S.B.

The Quest for a Lost City. Although a lost Mayan city in the wilds of Guatemala was found only in outline and not explored as archaeologists would proceed, yet this motion picture is worth seeing for a number of reasons.

(1) It shows what the magnificent teamwork of a man and his wife, Dana and Ginger Lamb, can do in facing the dangers of a tropical jungle. (2) It vivifies the book by the same name and authors. (3) It gives interesting glimpses of some of the current jungle descendants of ancient Mayas. Their lives show little change from the ways of their forebears of perhaps a thousand years ago, due presumably to living in an isolated forested region far from human communication. (4) It indicates some of the ingenious ways by which illiterate people meet the almost overwhelming conditions of jungle existence. (5) The skill of Dana and Ginger Lamb in establishing friendly relationships with these primitive Mayans is noteworthy. They did not burst in upon the Mayan village, but made camp and waited for the Mayans to become satisfied that no harm was meant and to take the initiative in making a personal call upon the white visitors. (6) It reveals how a combination of curiosity, ingenuity, great courage, and fortitude enabled the Lambs to reach a lost city of the Mayans. (7) Considering the many serious difficulties, the photography makes illuminating revelations regarding travel by foot in a tropical jungle region beset by heat, humidity, swarms of insects, malaria, high cliffs, not to mention torrential rains. The dauntless fortitude of Dana and Ginger Lamb commands unlimited praise.

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